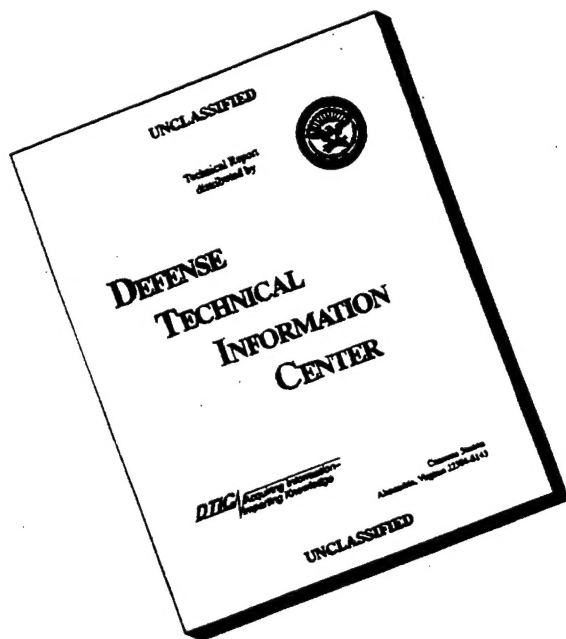


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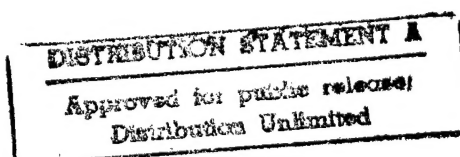
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PRIME MINISTER GANDHI VISITS MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON: A COMPILATION OF OPEN-SOURCE COVERAGE

*A Report Prepared under an Interagency Agreement
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July 1985



Author: Douglas C. Makeig

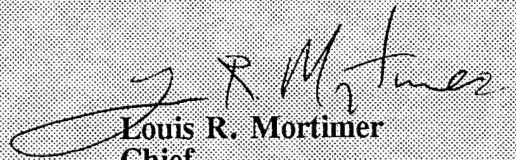
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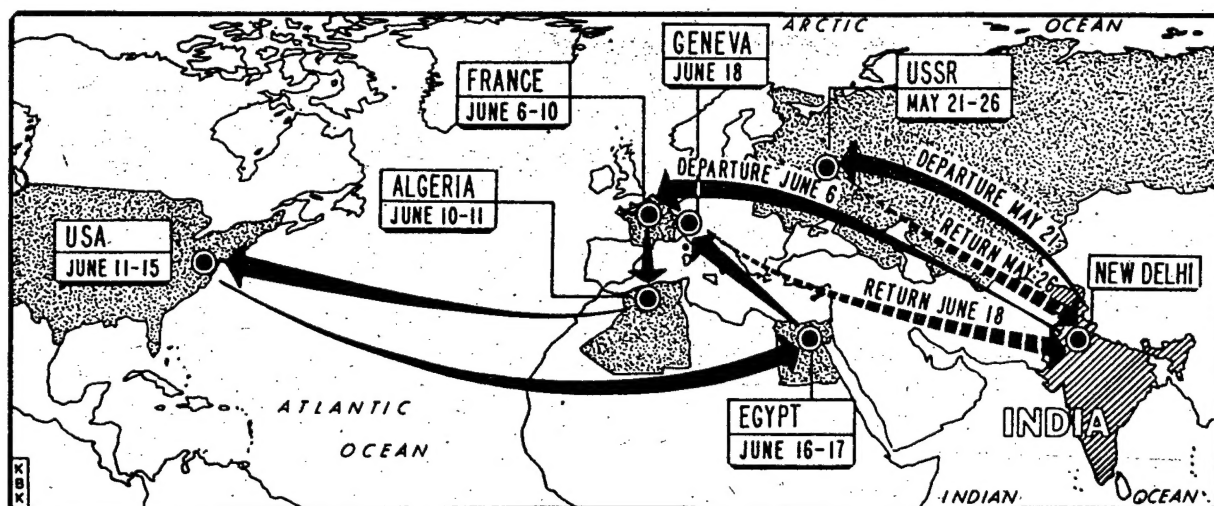


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PREFACE

This is another in a series of open-source compilations covering significant events which affect US interests in South Asia. This volume includes published materials pertaining to Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's recent visits to the USSR (21-26 May 1985) and to the United States (11-15 June 1985).

Gandhi's Itinerary



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PART I. GANDHI'S VISIT TO MOSCOW

THE PRESS BUILDUP

Rajiv's Mission To Moscow

No Need To Shirk Issues

CHANDRASEKHAR SINGH

By GIRILAL JAIN

AS Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi prepares to leave for Moscow next Tuesday, he would do well to assume that the Soviet leadership would wish to take a measure of him and his ideological orientation just as he and his aides would wish to assess Mr. Gorbachov who is also new to his office. Since this assessment by both sides will greatly influence the course of Indo-Soviet relations in years to come the visit has acquired an extraordinary importance. It should be treated as such.

In such matters a great deal depends on what the Americans call the personal chemistry of the two leaders. They either click, as did Mr. Nehru and Mr. Khrushchev despite their very different social and cultural backgrounds, or they do not, as Mrs. Gandhi and President Nixon did not. But images also count.

In view of the controlled nature of the Soviet press, it is not possible for us to say for certain whether the Soviets have a positive or a negative view of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. The writings of the generally pro-Soviet leftists in the country are also not much help because, for some years, they have not been speaking in one voice. They are certainly not speaking in one voice now.

The problem, however, is by no means insuperable. Though it would be wrong to think that the Soviets are alarmed over Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's supposedly pro-Western outlook just because the Americans are so enthusiastic about him and his desire to bring in sophisticated technology which by and large only the West and Japan can supply, it would be safe to assume a certain measure of concern among them on this count. After all, they cannot believe that American expectations of Mr. Gandhi are wholly misplaced.

Populist Garb

The Soviet impression of a pro-Western Rajiv Gandhi could have been reinforced by what happened at a recent meeting of the AICC where he had had to agree to a redrafting of the economic policy resolution to provide for a reiteration of the party's commitment to socialism. For if so many old Congress leaders felt

that Mr. Gandhi's government had deviated from the party's established policy, the Soviets cannot be blamed if they too have drawn a similar inference.

Perhaps we are being unfair to the Soviets, perhaps they have a better appreciation of the Indian reality than either the Americans who tend to swing from the one extreme of enthusiasm to the other of cold indifference, or some of the Congress leaders and left-leaning intellectuals who have been fed on slogans for years and, indeed, decades. Even so there is no harm in assuming that the Soviet view of the new Indian Prime Minister might be clouded by what has been said and written about him in recent months both at home and in the West.

This is not a proper occasion to go into a detailed discussion of the economic policy India has followed fairly consistently since the first five-year plan was launched in 1951. But we have to take note of the fact that its substance has been quite different from its presentation. While the principal goal has been growth, it has all along been given a populist garb.

It is also not possible for us to discuss here the larger issue whether socialism, however defined, is possible in any developing country whatever the nature of the regime. This issue dominated the debate among Russian Marxists before the October revolution in 1917 and it has dominated the debate among Marxists ever since and it is by no means resolved.

But whether or not the Soviets are right in their claim that it is possible to skip the capitalist stage of development, neither Mr. Nehru nor Mrs. Gandhi ever took that position. In Mrs. Gandhi's case, it would be readily agreed that she was a pragmatist and not an ideologue. In Mr. Nehru's case, such a proposition would be widely disputed. But if he was an idealist and as such favoured a socialist order, he was also a realist who knew that it was not a practical goal for a long time in India's conditions and, equally important, a democrat which

meant that he was not interested in forging the instruments of coercion which the Soviets and other Communists in power have used to establish what they call socialism. He could not have forged such instruments even if he had tried. But that is another issue.

On achievement of independence, the central task for India's new rulers in the economic field was the country's industrialisation which they regarded as the key to the solution of India's many problems. Some of them felt that Indian entrepreneurs could accomplish this task. Mr. Nehru did not share this view, partly because he did not have much respect for Indian businessmen and opted for a mixed economy in which the public sector would be in control of the "commanding heights."

This approach was a product of a compromise between his ideological commitment to democratic socialism and his pragmatic appreciation of the Indian reality. But whatever Mr. Nehru's predictions, it was a stroke of genius. The approach matched India's needs and capabilities.

India's, like Germany's in the 19th century and Japan's in the earlier part of this century, was a case of delayed industrialisation. This process could not possibly proceed at a worthwhile speed in the normal capitalist way. That would have required a century or more. India could not afford to wait that long. Other helpful circumstances for facilitating the capitalist path of development did not exist. The Indian economy had been stagnant for as long as half a century; the country had been impoverished to an unbelievable degree; its scientific-technological base was as small as its resource base; and it did not possess an industrial entrepreneurial class of any strength and distinction. With some exceptions, India's big business houses were big only in name and they were essentially trading houses.

In the heat of the debate, influenced in no small way by the cold war, these realities have generally got ignored, with one section of articulate Indians arguing that Mr. Nehru and Mrs.

Gandhi diverted unduly large resources to an inefficient public sector and the other arguing that they allowed too much leeway to the private sector. The fact has been that India could industrialise even to the extent it has only under the auspices of an interventionist state with both the public and the private sector playing a role in it. India has not deliberately copied the Japanese model. But, as in the case of Japan, the Indian state has had no option but to play a critically important role in the country's economic growth.

Clear Direction

The nature of a state's intervention in the economy is never determined wholly by the objective requirements of a country's development goals. For no state is ever a neutral agency. It consists of human beings who have their own predilections and interests. In India's case the intelligentsia, from among whom the Indian bureaucracy has been recruited, has functioned as a class in some ways similar to Djilas's new class in socialist countries. It is a product of British colonial rule; it is separated from the common people by language since it is educated in English; and it does not have much respect for Indian traditions. This mandarin class imposed on the Nehru model of a mixed economy a regime of controls, licences, quotas and permits which gave it enormous powers and in the process distorted the model. While it is immaterial whether it did so deliberately or not, it is indisputable that the Indian bureaucracy has enjoyed enormous powers of patronage under this dispensation.

The often unnecessary and arbitrary regulations did not frustrate the industrialisation programme so long as India was engaged in import substitution. But once this phase was over, as it was well over a decade ago, the country's industrial development slowed down. Mrs. Gandhi was aware of this problem and was trying to resolve it in the only way it can be resolved, that is by relaxing controls on the private sector, especially on the so-called monopoly houses which are

better equipped to innovate and take advantage of rapid developments in the field of technology. Mrs. Gandhi moved hesitantly, as was her wont. But the direction had been unmistakable since her return to office in 1980. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's approach is, therefore, a continuation, even if a bold and unhesitating one, of his mother's.

It is understandable that many Americans, who distrusted Mrs. Gandhi for reasons we need not discuss here, should have ignored this fact of continuity in their assessments of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi. But it is rather baffling that Mr. Gandhi and his aides should also have failed to emphasise this aspect of his economic policy. Perhaps they wanted to make it appear that they were making a brave new start. Perhaps they were not aware of the political risks they were taking quite unnecessarily.

Be that as it may, two points need to be made. First, whatever the popular language of Indian politics, socialism has not been the issue in India and it cannot be an issue in India for a long, long time to come. Though tempered by a variety of other considerations inevitable in a democracy, growth has been and remains India's central problem. Secondly, the Indian economy has reached a stage where its future growth calls for a different approach from the one that has been pursued so far. The state's role will remain critical in respect of the infrastructure and it will have to continue to set the broad guidelines. But it will have to allow far greater freedom to private enterprise and managers of public sector undertakings. Modern technology flourishes only in conditions of great flexibility. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is trying to cope with this reality of the modern world.

Complex Situation

So the superfluous controversy over Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's ideological commitment, or lack of it, need not inhibit a frank discussion between him and Mr. Gorbachov on future economic co-operation between the two countries. This cooperation will be greatly facilitated, if Mr. Gorbachov is able to push his plans for economic reforms and modernisation in his own country. For it is no secret that right now the Soviet economy is not in a healthy enough state to offer what India needs because in a number of vi-

tal fields it is lagging behind the West and Japan by as much as a decade. This obstacle has operated for many years already.

Indo-Soviet friendship has not rested and cannot rest solely on the Soviet supply of weapons to India, however vital these may be. It has had and it has to have an ever-expanding economic component. The difficulty in this field has not been and is not going to be some shift of emphasis in India's economic strategy. The trouble has been the lag in the Soviet Union's progress in technology as Mr. Gorbachov must know as well as anyone else. Moscow can help India in certain non-military fields as well, as its past offers of a nuclear power station would show. But this is a field in which India has achieved self-reliance at considerable cost, and it is far from clear whether it should again go in for a turn-key project.

On our part, while we take note of Soviet problems, we must not, in our euphoria over the supposed prospects in our economic relations with the United States, ignore the dangerous implications of what the Americans are trying to do, not just in respect of the nuclear arms race and the power balance in different regions, including our own, but also in respect of the world economy. It is a complex situation in which we need the cooperation of the Soviet Union as well as western Europe and Japan.

Since I have written on the problems arising out of the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan, it is not necessary for me to cover that ground again. But it may be appropriate to say that this issue deserves to be discussed between Mr. Gorbachov and Mr. Gandhi fully and frankly. Without question this is a most crucial foreign policy issue for India in which the Soviet Union is directly involved.

Spadework begins for P.M.'s Moscow trip

From G. K. Reddy

NEW DELHI, April 7.

Both India and the Soviet Union are attaching considerable importance to the Prime Minister's visit to Moscow next month, because the future course of their special relationship would depend to a large extent on the emerging personal rapport and political understanding between the two new leaders, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, who are going to be at the helm for a long time.

A lot of meticulous preparation is, therefore, being done by both sides to ensure the success of this visit in every respect, so that it becomes a major landmark in the development of Indo-Soviet relations.

The two Governments are taking all possible care to make doubly certain that everything goes off well during this visit, since any slight misunderstanding about each other's objectives or attitudes could have a tangential impact that could be quite detrimental to Indo-Soviet relations. So they are particularly anxious that the two new leaders should start off well with a measure of mutual confidence, so that they could look forward to years of continued co-operation.

No problems

There are no problems as such between India and the Soviet Union, other than the problem of keeping their friendship in a state of good repair with an enduring faith in each other's intentions. During their very first meeting at the time of Chernenko's funeral last month, Mr. Gorbachev remarked that there were powerful countries, implying the U.S. and others in the West, bent on souring and straining Indo-Soviet relations, but Mr. Rajiv Gandhi assured him that he was fully determined to continue the policy of close friendship with the Soviet Union.

The same assurance has been conveyed, when the Defence Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao met the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, in Moscow last week to discuss the preparations under way for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit. The official talks and social engagements on this occasion are being planned in such way that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Gorbachev would be able to spend many hours together sizing up each other to dispel the lingering doubts, if any, in their minds about the policies of the two countries in the changed circumstances.

The Soviet Government is reported to be contemplating some major announcements of increase economic and technological assistance during Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to assure India that Mr. Gorbachev is no less committed than his predecessors in attaching utmost importance to Indo-Soviet relations. It is also expected to make some special concessions to ease the mounting burdens of payment for def-

ence equipment by reviewing the recent hikes in the prices of new weapon system, easing the collaboration terms for licensed production and applying the recently revised interest rates to new purchase agreements.

The Soviet Government has appreciated the gesture of India's new Prime Minister to begin his foreign tours with a visit to Moscow to make it quite clear to all concerned that he is not seeking to establish better relations with the United States at the cost of his country's well established friendship with the Soviet Union. The Soviet side, too, is equally keen on assuring India of its continued support in every respect, despite the current emphasis on developing a balanced relationship with both the super powers to safeguard the country's larger interests.

As a young and promising Prime Minister who is a product of the new technological age, the 40-year old Mr. Rajiv Gandhi does not want India to stagnate by denying itself the benefits of major scientific advances in the name of continuity and adhering blindly to the old restrictive policies that have outlived their purpose. So he is eager to seek the assistance of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union in preparing India to leap forward into the next century with self-sustaining confidence.

The emergence of the new Soviet leader, Mr. Gorbachev, who is only 54 years old, has ended the deadening impact of gerontocracy in the Kremlin and opened up an era of greater drive and resilience in the conduct of Soviet policies consistent with the dynamics of the changing international scene. As a product of the post-revolution period and the youngest among the politburo members, he is all set to bring about a generational change in the general outlook of the Soviet Union.

The two leaders, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Gorbachev, have much in common since they share the same urge for a rapid transformation of their societies to catch up with the lost opportunities and keep abreast of modern developments. It is, therefore, considered most important by both the Indian and Soviet Governments that they should understand each other better.

A firm reiteration of continued Soviet assistance to India for its industrial development and defence effort would help to set the right tone for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's subsequent visit to Washington, since he would be able to make it amply clear to President Reagan that the U.S. policy of arming Pakistan is not going to provide his administration with any extra leverage in exerting political pressures or placating him with offers of technological cooperation. And any such attempt to charm or pressure him without matching changes in American attitudes would have just the opposite effect of driving India even closer to the Soviet Union by increasing the country's dependence on it.

Gandhi, Due in Soviet, Goes as Friend

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, May 20 — Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who initially struck many diplomats as potentially pro-Western in outlook, has embarked on a new campaign to strengthen ties with the Soviet Union and reassure the public of his devotion to socialism.

Mr. Gandhi's efforts culminate this week in a five-day visit to the Soviet Union, including a meeting in Moscow with Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader. Political commentators here say the Prime Minister deliberately chose Moscow for his first major trip overseas since taking office last November.

In June, the 40-year-old Prime Minister is to visit the United States to meet with President Reagan and open the Festival of India. That trip has been hailed by many as likely to contribute to a new era of cooperation between New Delhi and Washington.

A succession of senior American officials have stopped by India recently, each one praising Mr. Gandhi for his steps to ease Government control of the economy. Others have noted with satisfaction that Mr. Gandhi seems to have stepped up the attempt to diversify the purchases of military weapons so that India no longer relies exclusively on the Soviet Union.

Disappointment Is Predicted

Yet for all these moves, many experts here caution against any feeling in the West that Mr. Gandhi will reorient basic Indian policies away from support of Moscow on many issues.

"This euphoria in the West is absolutely dangerous," said Bhabani Sen Gupta, a specialist on the Soviet Union at the Center for Policy Research. "It is bound to lead to disappointment. Rajiv Gandhi will build upon Indo-Soviet relations as the first foundation of his foreign policy."

There were certainly expressions of friendship on the eve of Mr. Gandhi's departure for Moscow on Tuesday. Mr. Gorbachev told the Press Trust of India news agency that the coming visit was "a big event in the life of our two states."

Mr. Gandhi, meanwhile, told Tass: "The economic and commercial relations between our two countries have registered spectacular growth in recent years. India attaches great importance to them."

Government officials here said also that during the visit Moscow would grant a "substantial" amount of new commercial credits to build power generators and factories in India. Romesh Bhandari, the Indian Foreign Secre-

tary, said that Soviet-Indian trade this year was expected to be \$3.7 billion, a 20 percent increase over last year, and that it would continue to grow.

American experts say also that Indian-American trade is likely to increase from its level of \$4 billion this year.

But Moscow has granted many concessions and incentives. The major Soviet-Indian economic accords, for instance, permit India to pay in rupees. In the military area, India has been given billions of dollars in other concessions, enabling it to buy MIG fighter-bombers and reconnaissance planes, tanks, helicopters, transport planes, artillery, frigates and missiles.

Only in the last few years has India looked to France, West Germany, Italy and other countries in the West for weapons.

Experts agree, however, that Soviet-Indian friendship is based on far more than trade and military assistance. It is rooted, even Western diplomats acknowledge, in a shared vision of what should be the proper strategic balance in South Asia. Mr. Reagan is therefore deemed able to disturb that vision.

Pakistani Aid Seen as Threat

The main point of the Indian-American disagreements has been Pakistan, India's chief rival in the region and, for the last five years, America's chief friend there.

India and Pakistan have fought three wars since their independence in 1947. The last time, in 1971, when the United States was "tilting" to Pakistan, the Soviet Union backed India with votes and vetoes at the United Nations.

Today, the \$1.6 billion American military aid package for Pakistan is regarded by Indian officials as a major threat. American officials defend the aid as an attempt to bolster Pakistan as a counterweight to the presence of more than 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan. But Indian officials note that Pakistan has fewer troops on its border with Afghanistan than on its border with India.

To the annoyance of American diplomats, Prime Minister Gandhi has kept up the practice of his mother, Indira Gandhi, of vehemently criticizing the American aid to Pakistan.

Help for Rebels Criticized

He has gone even further, denouncing American covert assistance to the rebels in Afghanistan as creating instability in the region. Aides to the Prime Minister argue that helping the Afghan insurgents only stiffens the resolve of the Russians and even raises the threat of their retaliation against Pakistan.

"If the Government of Pakistan falls as a result, who knows what mess will be left in our lap?" a senior Indian official said.

American diplomats acknowledge that they have been frustrated and sometimes even infuriated by the Indian refusal to denounce the Soviet sweep into Afghanistan in the last week of 1979, as almost all members of the United Nations did.

But few think India is likely to change its view, no matter how much it purchases weapons for the West or eases up on socialism at home.

There are those, in fact, who see Mr. Gandhi's trip to Moscow as an attempt to assure Mr. Gorbachev that India intends to stand by its longtime friend despite news reports of Mr. Gandhi's supposedly pro-Western orientation. "I'm sure the Prime Minister will try his best to reassure them," Mr. Sen Gupta said.

Taxes Are Reduced

As for the economic situation at home, political analysts wonder how much further Mr. Gandhi will be able to keep up his revisions that have introduced free market theories into the Indian economy. The Prime Minister has acted not only to cut Government regulations but also cut taxes as an incentive for increased saving and investment.

Commentators have been fascinated by the Prime Minister's steps and by his talk of making industry more efficient and tapping more private investment from overseas.

But the talk also produced criticism within the ranks of the Congress (I) Party, the latter-day version of the Congress Party founded by Mr. Gandhi's forebears, many of them British-trained socialists determined to develop India on that model.

This month the Congress Party held a centenary celebration and used the occasion to mollify critics by reaffirming its commitment to socialism, a commitment Mr. Gandhi backed fully. Also reaffirmed was the commitment to use the Government as the engine to achieve economic growth, higher employment and the introduction of new technologies.

In the Soviet Union this week, Mr. Gandhi plans to take part in many other gestures and ceremonies of friendship reflecting longtime Soviet-Indian ties. Besides signing various documents formalizing the economic assistance, he plans to lay a wreath at Lenin's tomb and take part in the naming of a square in Moscow after Mrs. Gandhi, who was assassinated last Oct. 31.

More than formal

MORE than usual interest and importance are attached to Mr Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the Soviet Union beginning Tuesday. This is his first foreign visit as Prime Minister and will be to a country with which India has had close and trouble-free relations for nearly three decades. Throughout this period, there has been no Indian Prime Minister who has not visited the Soviet Union and no Soviet leader who has not visited India. But there is more to the visit than a ritualistic maintenance of the tradition. Both Mr Gandhi and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev are new to office and the visit is intended to establish the sense of personal rapport that has characterised Indo-Soviet relations.

Apart from acquainting each other with problems and perceptions in their respective national spheres, the two leaders are expected to formalise several long-term agreements in the economic, technological and cultural areas, old and new, and probably extend the existing 15-year co-operation protocol, which was signed by Leonid Brezhnev and Indira Gandhi in 1980, to the turn of the century. Bilateral relations will, however, be only a part of the agenda. The two leaders will undoubtedly sound each other on the way they look at the world and its many problems and trouble spots. Mr Rajiv Gandhi is expected formally to convey to Mr Gorbachev the NAM appeal on disarmament as well as the Delhi declaration of the six-nation summit, and speak of relations in the sub-continent and SAARC, while the Soviet leader will no doubt acquaint him with the progress, or lack of it, at the new arms talks at Geneva. Also likely to come up for discussion are regional problems like West Asia, the Gulf war, Afghanistan, Kampuchea and the situation in the Indian Ocean. Shared perceptions should prove constructive in various existing or potential efforts to resolve the crises.

Hopefully, Mr Gandhi will not be coy about probing Mr Gorbachev's mind on Afghanistan and what it would take in timing, sequence, actions and assurances to facilitate implementation of the kind of settlement which has been discussed through UN good offices. Since Indo-Pakistan, Pakistan-US, Soviet-Pakistan and Indo-US relations all impinge directly or indirectly on Afghanistan, this is a nodal topic in regard to which India could have a positive role to play. As Mr Gandhi's visit to Moscow is to be followed by his visit to Washington, and with Indo-Pakistan talks also scheduled in the near future, frank multilateral exchanges on the subject would obviously be most useful. Soon after the Soviet visit, Mr Gandhi is scheduled to go to France, Egypt and Algeria and then to the United States. The visit to both the super powers within a month or so is seen in some quarters as a balancing act. Others tend to see the US visit as confirmation of Mr Rajiv Gandhi's alleged tilt towards Washington. While New Delhi certainly wishes to improve its relations with the super powers and others there is no question of any tilt in any direction. Bilateral relations are not a matter of personal predilections or whims and cannot be enhanced or diminished irrespective of the realities, a commonality of interests and perceptions, and various commitments. As far as India is concerned, its international relations and especially its ties with the super powers are not a matter of Cold War calculations but a product of a convergence of national interests and principles.

PM's Soviet visit

The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's five-day visit to the USSR and his forthcoming discussions with the Soviet leader, Mr Mikhail Gorbachyov, will help the two countries to explore further expansion of the areas of cooperation in the economic, scientific and cultural spheres. This will also be a meeting between the chairman of non-aligned movement and the head of the foremost nation of the socialist world. Yet, the summit will mark the meeting of minds to consolidate further the existing ties in the cause of global peace. Mr Gandhi has already met Mr Gorbachyov in Moscow and though it was a brief meeting, they were able to strike excellent personal equation with each other. It is tautological to speak in terms of age-old bonds of friendship between India and the USSR. For, these extend far beyond the realm of mere diplomatic modus vivendi. The two leaders share common concern for peaceful coexistence embodying the aspirations of their respective people for a better international world order.

There is no outstanding problem to be sorted out between the two nations. The Great October Revolution is a landmark in the humanity's advance towards ending the shackles of exploitation of man by man. The Soviet leaders' concern for India's freedom struggle led to the visits of eminent Indians to that land — Pandit Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and Rabindra Nath Tagore. Indira Gandhi was herself the child of the Indian revolution. Her fiery zeal for human freedom was to find a forceful expression as she rose to be one of the outstanding figures of the contemporary era on the world scene. This evoked admiration in the Soviet Union and laid the foundations for firm understanding and cooperation be-

tween the two nations. The year 1971 saw the birth of the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in economic and political spheres and has been a major landmark in the recent diplomatic history.

Although both India and the Soviet Union have now new leaders at the helm of affairs, they have the advantage of this rich heritage. The world of today is beset with the problems posed by arms race, nuclear threat and new colonialist expansionism. The major initiatives taken by Mr Rajiv Gandhi to defuse the highly volatile world situation have brought forth sympathetic responses from the Soviet leadership. It is in the context of giving a further impetus to these peace initiatives and enlarging the area of friendship between the two countries that the Prime Minister's visit would be watched with keen interest among the peace-loving peoples the world over.

Bon voyage, Prime Minister

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi begins today the first of two crucial visits, which will to a large extent shape the direction and content of his administration's foreign policy over the next five years. It is only proper that the first gesture should be made towards the USSR, a nation whose friendship has proved to be of crucial importance to us not only in 1971 but also much before. By and large, India and the USSR have shared a common perception of South Asia even if there might be differences about the rest of the world. This commonality has been strengthened by a relationship in both trade and defence which has stood the most difficult test of all—the test of time. Those who have not been able to either accept or break this bond have not hesitated to criticise the relationship. Delhi, among other things, has been described as a stooge of Moscow, and those who have shown no respect for the nonaligned movement have had the temerity to say that the Indo-Soviet treaty betrays the spirit of nonalignment. (The nonaligned nations themselves answered this last charge by giving India the stewardship of the movement at a very crucial moment.) But Indo-Soviet friendship, based both on mutual benefit and shared commitments, has not only survived but shown signs of achieving the mature stability that does not always follow the early, heady courtship. The most striking evidence of this maturity, in fact, has come during the Prime Ministership of Mr Rajiv Gandhi, when suddenly serious strains developed in the wake of reports that there was a conscious effort to begin a gradual swing towards the West. The Budget tended to confirm such suspicions which is why finance minister, Vishwanath Pratap Singh had to make such heavy play of the continued commitment to socialism. The question, of course, was whether all these straws in the wind added to a concrete shift in policy, and to what extent foreign policy would have to be altered to suit the new range of options being contemplated.

It was quite clear that this government, anxious to reach the twentyfirst century in some style, was in the market to purchase technology from the West. Furthermore, it was unwilling to equate progress with government control of industry, a sentiment which set hearts fluttering in Reaganite Washington. The overtures began. Moreover, there was an inbuilt occasion for a grand finale. During her last, and very successful visit to the United States, Mrs Indira Gandhi had proposed the idea of a Festival of India in the USA and President Reagan had endorsed the idea. No one had taken into account the tragedies which took place in between: however, it would be Prime Minister

Rajiv Gandhi inaugurating this festival in 1985 and not his mother. Washington has made a concerted effort to see that the Festival of India can mark the beginning of a new chapter in relations between the two nations.

The point is that friendship with the USA need not be at the expense of the USSR. Neither does Washington reside in a dream world; the State Department knows as well as anyone else that there are not going to be any dramatic somersaults. But surely India can be on friendly terms with both superpowers, without compromising its position with the one or the other. Nor should attempts be made to quantify the strength of bilateral relations: what we have to offer to each is friendship to the extent of our ability, and what we want from them is friendship to the extent of theirs. Comrade Gorbachov made the point in his interview to the Press Trust of India (the first interview he gave to any foreign correspondent) that every summit has deepened relations between India and the USSR, and indeed it has. There is no reason why the first formal exchange of views and assessments between two young leaders of two friendly states should be any different.

TASS INTERVIEWS RAJIV GANDHI ON USSR-INDIA TIES

LD191802 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 19 May 85

[Text] New Delhi May 19 TASS -- Following are the answers by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to the questionnaire by Mr. V.G. Baydashin, chief of TASS bureau in India.

Q.1. This year marks the completion of 30 years since the first visit of your grandfather Shri Jawaharlal Nehru to the Soviet Union as the prime minister of the independent India. What is your assessment of the development of Indo-Soviet relations during this period?

Ans. It is true that Jawaharlal Nehru visited the Soviet Union as prime minister for the first time in 1955. But he had gone there 28 years earlier as one of the dynamic leaders of our freedom movement. He was at that time regarded as the coming man of India. He was convinced that India and the Soviet Union must establish close relations of friendship. He is rightly remembered for his part in laying the firm foundations of Indo-Soviet cooperation which has been a factor of stability and peace.

In the last 30 years Indo-Soviet relations have grown in all directions -- political, economic, scientific and cultural. Both have benefited from this. The Soviet Union is regarded by the people of India as a steady and trusted friend. We have received considerable help from it on building up our basic industries and strengthening our public sector.

I am looking forward to my visit to the Soviet Union and to the opportunity to convey to the Soviet people the greetings of the people of India. I hope my talks with the general secretary, Mr. M.S. Gorbachev, and other leaders will be detailed, comprehensive and fruitful, leading to a further strengthening of our relations.

Q.2. In Moscow recently, the 9th meeting of the joint Indo-Soviet commission for cooperation in the fields of economy, science and technology took place.

How do you assess the overall cooperation between the two countries? According to you which could be the new fields of cooperation between India and the Soviet Union?

Ans: The economic and commercial relations between our countries have registered spectacular growth in recent years. India attaches great importance to them. In a growing and expanding relationship, we must always search for new areas of working together. There is vast scope for diversification in the trade and economic cooperation between our two countries. Our economies are complementary. We must work out new areas of production cooperation and transfer of technology. In fact it is necessary to view the bilateral cooperation in a larger time frame.

The recent meeting of the joint commission was very useful. Both sides have agreed upon new areas of cooperation.

Q.3 The six-nation Delhi Declaration, adopted at the initiative of India and proposing concrete measures for the nuclear disarmament, was widely welcomed in the Soviet Union. Lately, our country has also taken a number of initiatives in this direction. What is your opinion about the significance of the struggle for peace and detente and fight against the threat of nuclear war in the present, rather complex international situation?

Ans: The six-nation proposal for disarmament is an important initiative. It carries forward the declaration adopted by the seventh summit of non-aligned nations. We greatly appreciate the fact that the Soviet Union promptly welcomed the initiative. This is a clear expression of the Soviet Union's deep desire for peace.

We welcome the peace-loving policies of the Soviet Union and the initiative taken by the Soviet Union to restart discussions on disarmament with a view to reaching meaningful agreement. There is no future for mankind unless there is disarmament. India has always been a strong champion of peace. The pursuit of peace is one of the cardinal principles of our philosophy and policy.

Q.4 UNO will be celebrating its 40th anniversary this year. As chairman of NAM, one of the most massive movements for peace on our planet, what in your esteemed opinion, are the ways of increasing the effectiveness of UNO on the question of the maintenance of peace in the world?

Ans. The United Nations must be preserved and strengthened. The world needs a forum where peaceful solutions of differences can be worked out in an atmosphere of fellowship and belonging. Over the years several proposals have been put forward in regard to making the United Nations more effective. Much depends on the will of the large powers. But the United Nations belongs as much to the small as to the large. We must live together in a spirit of true co-existence.

I do hope that the 40th anniversary of the United Nations, at which several world leaders will be present, including, I hope, Mr. Gorbachev, will be starting point of a new effort to reach understandings and improve the prospects for peace.

Q.5. Recently, the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism in the Second World War was celebrated in the Soviet Union and other countries of the world. What would you like to wish to the Soviet people who made a significant contribution in achieving this great victory?

Ans. The defeat of fascism is a signal event in history. It could not have been possible but for the unconquerable spirit of your people and the magnificent capacity of your armed forces. I offer my congratulations to the people of the Soviet Union in the year of remembrance.

I might also add here that even though we had not won our independence when that war was fought, our people and our party were forthright in their condemnation of fascism. In fact Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the earliest leaders to warn the world when the storm clouds were gathering over Europe, about the necessity of defeating fascism. In his famous book, "The Discovery of India," which he wrote in jail when the colonial rulers had imprisoned him in the early forties, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote:

"I remember how I reacted to fascism and nazism in their early days, and not I only, but many in India...It was not merely the physical acts of aggressions in which fascism and nazism indulged, not only the vulgarity and brutality that accompanied them, terrible as they were, that affected us. But the principles on which they stood and which they proclaimed so loudly and blatantly, the theories of life on which they tried to fashion themselves, for these went counter to what we believed in the present, and what we had held from ages past."

Q.6 As prime minister, who has newly taken over, what are your priorities?

Ans. India's foremost task is to continue the process of economic modernisation and lift the people above mass poverty. Our builders, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi have laid down the path as to how to achieve this. We shall pursue the objective of self-reliance. We are determined to enlarge our agricultural and industrial production, securing the best results out of investments already made. We shall strengthen our infrastructure. We are determined to ensure that the fruits of development reach the common people and we have given a fillip to programmes of employment generation on a mass scale. In bringing about our development, the public sector has a crucial role in our five-year plans, and it will be given the fullest support in fulfilling the role. At the same time it is our duty to release the productive forces of our nation.

As regards political and social objectives, my task is to strengthen the unity and solidarity of our people and fight against divisive elements. In foreign policy we shall stand firmly by non-alignment, peace and co-operation.

GORBACHEV INTERVIEWED BY INDIAN NEWS AGENCY

LD181012 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 85 First Edition p 1

[Text] Moscow, 19 May (TASS) -- The Indian news agency PRESS TRUST OF INDIA (PTI) requested an interview with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

On 18 May, Comrade M.S. Gorbachev received S.P.K. Gupta, the Moscow correspondent of PTI, and handed him the replies to the questions that had been asked.

The text of the interview is published below:

Question: In light of your forthcoming meeting with our prime minister, what could you say about the state and prospects of Soviet-Indian relations in the context of the drive for peace and disarmament?

Answer: First of all, I would like to stress that Indian leaders are received with a special feeling here, reflecting the sincere sympathy and respect of the Soviet people for the great and friendly people of India. Various generations of Soviet and Indian people have written bright chapters into the history of our friendship, for whose development so much was done by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

Our attitude toward India reflects the Soviet Union's principled and invariable support for the struggle of nations against imperialist oppression, for stronger independence and social renewal. This course was bequeathed to us by the great Lenin and we are undeviatingly committed to it. We have inherited what can be called without exaggeration a unique, priceless asset.

Indira Gandhi said that we were bound by relations not only between the governments and not only by political and economic cooperation, but that our relations were the intertwining of the ardent hearts of our two creator-nations. Her vivid words aptly describe the level and entire multiformity of our relations.

I would like to take this opportunity to once again pay tribute to the bright memory of the outstanding daughter of the Indian people, whose name is forever inscribed in the history of Soviet-Indian friendship. The international Lenin Peace Prize that has been awarded to her is recognition of her tremendous contribution to the struggle for durable peace and friendship among nations.

An Indian saying has it that a road on which people meet each other halfway is the shortest. Our two peoples have been precisely following such a road for decades. This is precisely why our relations have been on the rise. The high level, dynamism, and comprehensive nature of our relations, based on the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation, is a source of satisfaction to us.

We greatly appreciate India's contribution to the collective effort to preserve peace and remove the nuclear threat. India, as current head of the Non Aligned Movement, which has become a major factor in international relations, is doing much to strengthen its unity and beneficial influence in the world.

Soviet-Indian friendship is an asset not just of our two peoples alone. It is an important factor for peace and stability in the current tense situation and an example of how fruitfully countries with different systems can cooperate if they are guided by the ideals of peace, by the principles of mutual respect and equitable cooperation.

We are optimistic as to the prospects of Soviet-Indian relations. The last time Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and I met, both sides reaffirmed their desire to further strengthen our cooperation. I'm sure that the forthcoming discussion of a broad range of issues on bilateral and international relations will give new content to our traditional ties in the interests of the Soviet and Indian peoples and of peace in Asia and the world.

Naturally, I personally will be pleased to resume contacts with the Indian leader, who is highly respected in our country.

Question: The initiatives of the heads of state and government of six countries representing four continents embodied in their declarations of 1984 and 1985, have been enthusiastically welcomed in the Soviet Union. How do you think they could be put into practice?

Answer: We have a high opinion of those initiatives. The ideas voiced in the documents of the heads of six countries and the Soviet initiatives follow the same course. The ultimate goal put forward in the declarations, to eliminate nuclear weapons from mankind's life, fully corresponds to the foreign policy aims of our country.

Entering into the Geneva talks with the United States, we agreed that the aim was to prevent an arms race in space, to terminate it on earth, and to begin radical reductions of nuclear arms leading to their complete elimination.

It is possible to begin with what the leaders of the Six proposed, that is, to stop the development, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons; to freeze nuclear arsenals and embark on their reduction; to prevent the arms race from spreading to space; and to conclude a treaty banning all nuclear tests.

We have proposed stopping further arms buildup as a first step, and that the USSR and the USA should impose a moratorium on the development, including research, testing, and deployment of attack space weapons for the duration of the Geneva negotiations. We propose a freeze on strategic offensive armaments, and that the deployment of American medium-range missiles in Europe and the buildup of our countermeasures be discontinued. The Soviet Union has already unilaterally imposed a moratorium until this November on the deployment of its medium-range missiles and suspended the implementation of other counter-measures in Europe. True to its word, the USSR strictly abides by the terms of this moratorium. We are entitled to hope for a more serious and thoughtful assessment of our initiative by Washington and its NATO partners, and for restraint in U.S. missile deployment in Western Europe. Reciprocity in this matter could help place the Geneva talks on a practical footing.

Finally, about ceasing nuclear weapons tests. We have repeatedly urged the United States and other nuclear powers to do so. The USSR has proposed and continues to propose that the nuclear weapon states announce a moratorium on any nuclear explosions to be in effect until the conclusion of a treaty on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests.

It could be instituted as of August 6, 1985, that is, on the 40th anniversary of the tragic atomic bombing of Hiroshima, or even earlier.

The Soviet Union, as is well known, is also ready to immediately resume the talks on the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons tests, which were broken off through the fault of the United States. It is high time to put into effect the Soviet-American treaties on the limitation of underground nuclear weapons tests and on underground nuclear explosions for peaceful purposes, which were signed in 1974 and 1976, respectively. They have not yet been ratified, again not through the fault of the Soviet side.

Of course, special responsibility for the destiny of the world today rests with the nuclear powers, and primarily with the USSR and the United States. However, the Soviet Union has never looked at the world in the context of USSR-U.S. relations alone. We are deeply convinced that all states can and must be involved in a search for realistic solutions to urgent problems and in efforts to ease international tensions. The voices of millions of people in various countries, raised in favor of effective measures to end the arms race and reduce arms stockpiles, against attempts to use negotiations as a cover for the continuation of this race, is of tremendous importance.

Question: What could you say about the prospects of attaining durable peace and developing cooperation in Asia, specifically in the Indian Ocean area?

Answer: I would like to stress that we highly value India's contribution to the strengthening of peace and stability in Asia and its realistic and considered approach to the key problems of the region.

As for the Soviet Union, it has always advocated peace and security in Asia, as well as equitable cooperation between Asian states. This fully applies to the Indian Ocean area. We support the idea of its conversion into a zone of peace.

It is common knowledge that for a number of years now, the United States has been scuttling the convening of an international conference on this issue. It has also unilaterally broken off the Soviet-American talks on limiting military activities in the Indian Ocean. In the meantime, the United States is constantly building up its military presence there.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly voiced its readiness to resume the talks. At the Soviet-Indian summit in 1982, the Soviet Union proposed that all states whose ships use the waters of the Indian Ocean should refrain from any steps that might aggravate the situation in the region, even before the convening of the conference. This Soviet proposal is still in effect. Specifically, the states in question should not send large naval formations there and should not hold military exercises, and those nonlittoral countries that have military bases in the region should not expand or modernize them. Now the drive for a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean has focused on the question of convening an international conference on the issue. I would like to stress our desire to work vigorously with other interested states to make such a forum possible so that the Indian Ocean could ultimately become a sphere of vital interests of the states located on its shores, and not of any others, a zone of peace rather than of tensions and conflicts.

X X X

In conclusion let me, through your agency, wish happiness, prosperity and peace to the Indian people.

We wish the government and all citizens of India success in the efforts to further consolidate national unity and cohesion, in the work for the social progress and prosperity of your great country.

During the talk which took place after the correspondent had been presented with the answers to PTI's questions, M.S. Gorbachev stressed that the Soviet Union attaches great importance to the coming visit of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. This visit is expected to become a remarkable event in the life of the two states and in the development of their relations. This is how it has always been: Each visit of leaders of our countries, each of their meetings left an imprint on Soviet-Indian relations. In this connection, we in the USSR recall with warmth and great esteem the visits to our country by outstanding leaders of India: Jawarharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi. We are confident that the visit of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi will do much good for the further development of Soviet-Indian cooperation and for the cause of our joint struggle for durable peace, for the consolidation of international security. Good personal contacts have already been established between the prime minister and myself, and we hope to consolidate them further.

Friendship with India, profound respect for its great people, for its rich ancient culture and its contribution to the progress of humanity are in the hearts of all Soviet people. Friendship with India has also been a vigorous tradition of our foreign policy over the decades. We proceed from the view that a united, strong and peaceful India is an inseparable and highly necessary part of today's world.

I personally have a great interest in your country and I hope that the kindly invitation extended to me by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi will enable me to see India in due time and to get acquainted with its people, Mikhail Gorbachev said.

Mikhail Gorbachev answered some additional questions from the correspondent. Answering the question as to what factors he ascribes to the successful development of his activity as a party leader, Mikhail Gorbachev said that there is only one "secret": our Soviet socialist way of life, the conditions which the socialist system creates for the molding and development of the personality. The upbringing by work in a family of rural toilers, like the one millions of children of workers, peasants, and intellectuals receive; good education accessible to everyone in our country; and socio-political school within a Komsomol, and later, a party organization -- all of these are factors typical of our way of life. They enable the Soviet people to participate in the development of the country, in the construction of new life. Every country, every people has capable and talented persons but, we believe, it is precisely the socialist system that creates the best conditions for their development, for the socially useful application of their potentialities.

S.P.K. Gupta said that some political leaders in the West, noting the energy and dynamism with which the Soviet Union is conducting its policy, express concern that the implementation of the Soviet Union's plans in the sphere of foreign policy and the adoption of measures planned in the sphere of socioeconomic development might present a growing threat for the West, particularly for the United States. The correspondent asked Mikhail Gorbachev's opinion to this effect.

Answering the correspondent, Mikhail Gorbachev said that such "concern" should be left to the conscience of those Western leaders who express it. The leadership of our party and state has been doing vast work lately to ensure the speeding up of the peaceful socioeconomic development of the country.

We tried to realistically assess the situation among various sectors of economic life. We have consulted experts and discussed these matters with a wide circle of urban and rural working people. The outlines of a program whose implementation, we believe, will ensure the obtaining of the goals set by the party and the people started to emerge as a result. We hope to conclude the work on the guidelines of the strategy of our social and economic development by the 27th party congress and we are confident that our plans will be approved by the party and the entire Soviet people.

Since the Soviet Union sets itself vast, far-reaching goals of peaceful development, we, naturally, need peace, and we shall be doing our utmost to safeguard and consolidate peace on earth. We are confident that our interests in this coincide with the interests of all other peoples, peoples of socialist countries, industrialized capitalist countries, and of Asian, African, Latin American countries that freed themselves from colonialism. This, perhaps, does not suit some groups of imperialists, who would like to keep up international tension and continue the arms race for their own self-seeking aims, but this is another matter. We hold that our policy meets the interests of the Soviet people and of the peoples of other countries.

The correspondent thanked Mikhail Gorbachev for his clear and convincing answers to the questions posed.

IN THE USSR

Warm welcome despite drizzle

MOSCOW, May 21 (UNI).

PRIME Minister Rajiv Gandhi flew into this rain-sodden city today to begin a six-day official visit to the cheering of tens of thousands of Muscovites.

Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa Gorbachev, received Mr. Gandhi and his wife Sonia Gandhi at the Kremlin.

Welcoming Mr. Gandhi with a warm handshake Mr. Gorbachev pointed to the cloudy sky and said "In the last few days the weather had been fine."

Shortly after arrival Mr. Gandhi began talks with Mr. Gorbachev.

Present at the talks on the Soviet side were Prime Minister Nikolai Tikhonov, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, Defence Minister Sergei Sokolov and First Deputy Prime Minister Ivan Arkhipov.

Earlier as soon as Mr. Gandhi stepped out of his car, Mr. Gorbachev, who had been waiting for his arrival, moved forward to greet him. Welcoming Mr. Gandhi, he said, "Hope your visit will be successful."

Prime Minister Nikolai Tikhonov, Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, Defence Minister S. Sokolov, Cultural Minister P. Demichev and First Deputy Prime Minister Ivan Arkhipov, and Mrs. Gromyko were present at the welcoming ceremony in the Kremlin.

The flags of India and the Soviet union were hoisted at the Kremlin residence, where Mr. Gandhi and his wife will be staying during his Moscow visit.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was received at the airport by Mr. Tikhonov, Mr. Gromyko, Mr. Demichev and Mr. Sokolov.

The welcoming party at the airport also included Mr. Arkhipov, Mr. M. A. Sergichik, Chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, Mr. V. F. Maltsev and Mr. V. I. Petrov, First Deputy Minister. Mr. S. M. Kolomon, First Deputy Chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, and Mr. V. N. Rykov, Soviet Ambassador to India.

From the Indian side Ambassador Nurul Hasan and members of the Indian community living in Moscow were present to greet Mr. Gandhi.

Indian and Soviet flags fluttered at the airport, where troops of the Moscow Garrison presented a guard of honour to Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi reviewed the guard and the national anthems of the two countries were played.

PTI adds:

Then Mr. Gandhi in a buttoned up coat accompanied by Mrs. Sonia Gandhi in red bordered cream coloured sari went up to the enclosure where Indian and Soviet children greeted them with flags and slogans "Indo-Soviet Friendship Zindabad".

They were escorted to the Kremlin apartment where they will be staying by Mr. Tikhonov, Mr. Gromyko and Marshal Sokolov. Mr. Gorbachev and his wife, Mrs. Raisa Gorbachev, greeted them on the portico of the apartment.

People lining the route waved flags as the motorcade passed by and the entire route was decorated with banners in Hindi and Russian - 'Long Live Soviet-Indian Friendship' and 'Hearty Welcome to the Prime Minister of Friendly India.'

The warmth and spirit of camaraderie witnessed when the two leaders greeted each other more than made up for the formal ceremony on Red Square which had to be cancelled

because of a drizzle.

The Soviet people "warmly welcome the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Rajiv Gandhi", Pravda wrote.

They were convinced that Mr. Gandhi's visit to the Soviet Union "will make a major contribution to the strengthening of the time-tested relations of deep friendship and diverse co-operation between the USSR and India for the benefit of the peoples both the countries and will be in the interests of universal peace and international security", it said.

The Soviet national daily today carried on its front page a biographical note on Mr. Gandhi alongside his photograph.



Tass via Associated Press

Mikhail S. Gorbachev, left, the Soviet leader, with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India yesterday in Moscow. With them, foreground from right: Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko and Prime Minister Nikolai A. Tikhonov.

Gandhi in Soviet on First Official Visit

By SETH MYDANS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 21 — Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India arrived here today for his first official visit abroad and began talks with Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader.

At a Kremlin dinner, Mr. Gorbachev said that the five-day visit, in which economic accords are expected to be signed, could lead to a "qualitatively new level" in relations. These were also close under Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Mr. Gandhi's mother, who was assassinated in October.

"Years and decades pass, generations of people in our countries come and go, but relations of friendship and cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and India continue to develop in ascending order," Mr. Gorbachev said.

Both Moscow and Washington have been courting Mr. Gandhi since he took office after his mother's death. He will visit the United States on June 12-15.

Although Mr. Gandhi is seen as Western in outlook and as interested in broadening ties with the West, the fact that he is here on his first foreign trip underscores the special place the Soviet Union holds in Indian policy.

Asian Security Parley Is Aim

Mr. Gorbachev, in his remarks, blamed the United States for some of the world's problems, from a spread of the arms race into outer space to a military buildup in the Indian Ocean.

He proposed a "joint, comprehensive approach" to security in Asia, perhaps leading to a security conference patterned after a European parley held in 1975 in Helsinki, Finland. He said India could play a central role.

Mr. Gandhi, in his reply, which was also reported by the Soviet press agency Tass, said he appreciated Soviet support and looked to expanded cooperation.

The accords to be signed by Mr. Gandhi are expected to include guidelines for economic and technical cooperation until the year 2000, a Soviet credit as well as Soviet aid in the development of power generation, coal, oil and machine building.

India is the Soviet Union's leading trade partner among the developing countries, with exchanges expected to rise to \$3.7 billion this year, 20 percent up from the 1984 level. In recent years, the balance of trade has shifted in India's favor, with the Soviet Union im-

porting mostly consumer goods and exporting mainly oil and armaments.

The Russians provide India with MIG-29 jet fighters, T-72 tanks, electronic guidance systems, submarines and artillery.

The Soviet Union produced a lavish welcome for Mr. Gandhi, reminiscent of those extended to his mother. Tens of thousands of people, many holding small Indian flags, were deployed along the route from the airport.

A squadron of motorcycle outriders escorted some 50 black limousines through rain-swept streets. Inside the Kremlin, Mr. Gorbachev and his wife, Raisa, greeted Mr. Gandhi and his wife, Sonia.

The honors point up the crucial place India holds for the Soviet Union, both as a balance to China and as an Asian power that refuses to condemn Moscow's policy in Afghanistan. For India, the Soviet Union is seen as a guarantor of security against Pakistan and China.

INDIA'S RAJIV GANDHI CONTINUES VISIT TO USSR

Talks With Gorbachev

PM221113 Moscow KRSNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 May 85 Second Edition p 1

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi had talks in the Kremlin 21 May. Also attending on the Soviet side were Nikolay Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Andrey Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR; Sergey Sokolov, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and minister of defense of the USSR; and Ivan Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. Attending on the Indian side were V.P. Singh, minister of finance; G. Parthasarathy, chairman of the Policy Planning Committee of the Ministry of External Affairs; Arun Nehru, minister of state for power; Arun Singh, parliamentary secretary to the prime minister; and Oscar Fernandes, the parliamentary secretary to the prime minister.

In the course of the talks, which passed in an atmosphere of friendship and complete mutual understanding, the sides discussed the key aspects of Soviet-Indian relations and topical international problems. They voiced profound satisfaction with the high level, effectiveness, and diversified character of Soviet-Indian relations, making good progress on the sound basis of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and India. Both sides reiterated their desire to continue to make consistent efforts for the comprehensive development and strengthening of these relations for the good of the peoples of the two countries and in the interests of universal peace.

Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi noted the basic importance of the documents that were to be signed during the current visit of the Indian prime minister, including an agreement on guidelines for trade, economic, scientific, and technical cooperation to the year 2000 and an agreement on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation in the establishment of a number of specific projects in India, for the further expansion and development of traditional mutually beneficial contacts between the USSR and India. These agreements are opening broad horizons for interaction between the two great states, bound by ties of sincere friendship.

In discussing the world situation, the sides voiced concern over persisting international tensions, the incessant arms race, especially the race in nuclear armaments, and the growing danger of its spread to space. The Soviet Union and India stressed the importance of the task of immediately terminating the arms race on earth and preventing it in space. The participants in the talks strongly denounced any attempt to use the talks on ending the arms race and on disarmament as a cover for the further escalation of the arsenals of weapons of mass destruction. The Soviet side voiced support for the initiatives of the heads of state and government of six countries aimed at the eventual exclusion of nuclear weapons from the life of mankind. The sides voiced concern over growing tension in the Asian and Pacific region as a consequence of the expansionistic policy of the forces of imperialism, which had claimed vast zones of that region as spheres of their "vital interests," and noted that an explosive situation in the Indian Ocean basin was persisting as a consequence of the expansion of military bases and the escalation of the U.S. military presence.

It was noted that the USSR and India were against outside intervention in the internal affairs of southwest Asian countries and supported an immediate political settlement there through talks so as to protect the sovereign rights of the states of that region and to strengthen universal peace and security.

Exchanging opinions on the situation in Southeast Asia, the participants in the talks voiced the conviction that the only sensible way to settlement was offered by constructive dialogue between the countries in that area and by a search for peaceful and mutually acceptable solutions to the existing problems. The Soviet side stressed the propitious effect of relations of friendship and cooperation between India and the Indo-Chinese states on the situation in Southeast Asia.

Reviewing the situation in Central America, the sides stressed that support for the people of Nicaragua in their struggle to defend the independence of their homeland was an important task for all the anti-imperialist and peace-loving forces.

Both sides noted with satisfaction the growing role of the Nonaligned Movement in the common efforts to improve the world situation and in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and apartheid. Mikhail Gorbachev spoke highly of India's great contribution towards strengthening the unity and enhancing the international prestige of the Nonaligned Movement. He voiced confidence that India, as one of the most prestigious leaders and the current chairman of that movement, would continue to contribute towards its further invigoration in the struggle for peace and disarmament and against the nuclear threat and the aggressive ambitions of imperialism.

Rajiv Gandhi noted that the Soviet Union's constructive policy of peace constituted one of the most important factors of ensuring peace and security for the peoples under the present-day international conditions; he appreciated the Soviet initiatives aimed at resolving the problems of disarmament and improving the international situation.

The participants in the talks stressed the basic significance of regular summit contacts as an important instrument of strengthening relations of friendship and trust between the two countries. It was noted that such contacts contributed to the advancement of the entire complex of relations of friendship and enhanced the effectiveness of the efforts made by the USSR and India in the struggle for safeguarding and strengthening universal peace and security. Rajiv Gandhi reaffirmed an invitation to Mikhail Gorbachev to pay a visit of friendship to India at a convenient time. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

Present at the talks, on the Soviet side, were: Maltsev, first deputy foreign minister of the USSR; Aleksandrov, assistant to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Chetverikov, first deputy chief of the International Information Department of the CPSU Central Committee; Rykov, USSR ambassador to India; Valkov, chief of a department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On the Indian side: Bhandari, foreign secretary of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs; Nurul Hasan, Indian ambassador to the USSR; Sharda Prasad, information adviser in the prime minister's office; Arora and Charekhan, secretaries to the prime minister; Raghunath, joint secretary of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs.

GANDHI STRESSES INDIA-SOVIET LINK

Criticizes Some U.S. Policies During a Visit to Moscow

By SETH MYDANS

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, May 22 — Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi ended two days of talks here today with praise for Soviet support of India and criticism of some American policies.

He said that his visit, during which two trade accords were signed, had "strengthened our relations and helped the cause of peace."

The Indian leader said he had chosen the Soviet Union for his first official trip as Prime Minister because "it has been an old friend over 30 years."

"We have stood together in times of trial, and we recognize that," he said.

Relations With U.S. Called Good

Mr. Gandhi, speaking at a news conference, said India's relations with the United States, which he will visit next month, have been good.

"We look to the United States for technology, deeper cultural exchanges and more trade," he added.

Asked whether India might offer more support for United States policies in return for technology, he said, "We do not compromise our principles in exchange for anything."

He said the United States had failed to restrain Pakistan's development of a nuclear weapon, which he said was "very close" to being achieved.

"The United States wants to turn a blind eye to the Pakistani nuclear program," Mr. Gandhi said.

Among issues to be taken up with President Reagan, he said, are allegations that the United States has been

Continued From Page A1

backing Sikh terrorists in the Punjab.

When asked whether he found fault with Soviet policies as well, Mr. Gandhi referred to a declaration on disarmament signed last year in New Delhi by India and five other nations.

"The Soviet Union was the only nuclear-weapon power that accepted the New Delhi Declaration, and the United States did not even bother to pick up the document," he said.

The declaration calls on the nuclear powers to prohibit testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons.

Mr. Gandhi said that the situation in Afghanistan had been discussed at some length and that Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, had given him an account of Soviet assertions that Pakistan is backing the Afghan rebels.

India alone among nations in the region has refrained from criticizing the Soviet military action.

Briefed on Soviet-Chinese Talks

"We are not for any country interfering or intervening in the internal affairs of another country," he said, apparently alluding both to Soviet backing for the Government and outside support for the insurgents.

Mr. Gandhi said Mr. Gorbachev had also discussed the Soviet discussions with China. The Indian leader said that Chinese conditions for improving relations, notably a demand for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, remained a barrier.

Under the new trade accords, the Soviet Union is extending a credit of a billion rubles (\$1.15 billion) to finance the cost of Soviet goods and services, mainly in the areas of electric power, oil, coal and industrial goods. India is Moscow's principal trade partner in the third world, with more than \$3 billion in exchanges annually.

However, the United States is India's largest trading partner, with \$4 billion in exchanges annually.

The Soviet Union is also India's main arms supplier, and Mr. Gandhi said "defense cooperation" with the Soviet Union was improving.

After a lavish welcome on Tuesday, the Russians continued their red-carpet treatment for Mr. Gandhi today, with extensive television coverage. He laid flowers at a square named for his

grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru, who was India's first Prime Minister, and attended the naming of another Moscow square after his mother, Indira Gandhi, his predecessor as Indian head of government.

He was given the unusual opportunity to address the nation on the evening television news program, stressing the two nations' long friendship and a broad cooperation that ranges from cultural exchanges to the launching of an Indian astronaut aboard a Soviet spaceship in 1984.

On Thursday, Mr. Gandhi is to leave for a three-day tour of Soviet cities before returning to New Delhi.

Continued on Page A8, Column 1



Associated Press
Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India, left, and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, exchanging copies of trade accords yesterday at the Kremlin. Applauding at right is Andrei A. Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister.

GANDHI'S ACTIVITIES IN MOSCOW, BELORUSSIA CITED

Arkhipov, Gandhi Address Meeting

PM231407 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 May 85 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[TASS report under general heading: "USSR-India: Goodneighborliness and Cooperation"]

[Text] The close friendship and varied cooperation between the USSR and India serves the interests of the two countries' peoples and the cause of world peace and international security. This was noted at R. Gandhi's meeting with representatives of the Soviet public in the House of Unions Hall of Columns.

The gathering was addressed by I.V. Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The friendship and mutual ties between our countries, the speaker said, are developing upwardly and are a graphic example of how fruitful and diverse cooperation between states with different social systems can be when their policy is inspired by the ideals of justice, equality, and mutual respect, and the struggle for peace and the peoples' security and against aggression and colonialism. The importance of our cooperation has particularly increased today, under the conditions of the dangerous aggravation of the international situation, which is the direct result of the actions of the most aggressive forces of imperialism.

All progressive mankind recently celebrated the 40th anniversary of the great victory over fascism. The Soviet Union highly rates the participation and attention which you personally, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, and the entire Indian people have paid to this glorious date and to the cause of the struggle against the resurrection of fascism. The multi-million-strong Soviet public is deeply satisfied by the fact that the USSR and India act from the same or close positions on topical present-day problems.

It was 30 years ago that the fundamental agreements were signed that essentially laid the foundation for the multifaceted cooperation between the USSR and India in the field of the economy, science and technology, culture and education. Three decades are a comparatively short period, but how far the entire complex of our cooperation has advanced, embracing virtually all spheres of our peoples' activity -- from the subterranean depths to the heights of space!

Soviet-Indian summit meetings occupy a special place. The USSR notes with profound satisfaction that your visit, esteemed Mr Rajiv Gandhi, has been a major new step in the development of relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and India. Soviet-Indian documents have been signed that will undoubtedly lend new dynamism to that development.

In the rostrum was Academician N.N. Blokhin, chairman of the International Lenin Prize "For the Consolidation of Peace Among the Peoples" Committee. I have the honor, he said, to present Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi with the gold medal and certificate of the International Lenin Prize "For the Consolidation of Peace Among the Peoples" which has been awarded to Indira Gandhi, that outstanding Indian statesman, politician, and public figure. It is symbolic that the lofty award is being presented to Indira Gandhi's son and her successor as prime minister.

To the applause of those assembled, N.N. Blokhin presented the medal and certificate to R. Gandhi. On behalf of the Soviet public the prime minister was presented with a bronze sculpture of Indira Gandhi.

The meeting was addressed by Rajiv Gandhi. It gives me tremendous joy to address the citizens of the Soviet Union, who have given us such a warm reception, he said. Every Indian whenever he comes to the Soviet Union, knows that a meeting in a spirit of boundless friendship awaits him. I convey warm greetings from the Indian people to the great people of the Soviet Union, to the Soviet leadership, and to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. Our countries exchanged ambassadors after India had been liberated from colonial rule, but the mutual friendship between the two peoples was born long before that date.

My greatgrandfather Motilal Nehru and my grandfather Jawaharlal Nehru, who were on the front line of India's struggle for freedom, visited the Soviet Union back in 1927, when the 10th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was being celebrated. They both very much wanted to see for themselves and to study the new social system that was being built in the USSR. At the time, Jawaharlal Nehru highly assessed the importance of the Russian Revolution, which he called one of the greatest events of world history.

India's struggle for independence, the guest continued, has met with the Soviet people's resolute support. We in turn were perturbed by the conflicts that flared up in Europe in the twenties and thirties, and particularly by the sinister rise of fascism. J. Nehru did not tire of warning the world of the looming dangers, and he was depressed by the attitude of some European governments toward Hitler. We in India, although we were not free at the time, unconditionally opposed fascism and we admired the Soviet people's heroic struggle. This year you celebrate the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism. We rejoice with you; we salute your heroes.

India's struggle for freedom is the history of an unarmed people's resistance to the world's biggest empire. We achieved marked successes. The country, which had virtually no industry, has now become a major industrial power. In a major business, the modernization of the economy, we are encountering invaluable mutual understanding and assistance from the Soviet Union.

During my visit, we have discussed plans for cooperation in the economy, trade, science, and technology for the next 15 years. The horizons here are very broad.

The Soviet Union's support is not restricted to the economic sphere. You supported us in times of difficulty for India. A friend in need is a friend indeed. The Indian people consider the Soviet people to be true friends. Indian-Soviet friendship graphically shows that two peoples with different social systems can establish firm relations of mutual understanding and cooperation in their common interest. Our greatest cause is peace. We both want peace, mindful of the past and dreaming of the future. Only the tree of peace can give mankind living fruit. In a period when peace depends on nuclear arsenals, I confirm the resolve of the Nonaligned Movement and of India to struggle for peace and disarmament.

You have awarded Indira Gandhi the Lenin Peace Prize. That is a gesture which the Indian people prize highly. Vladimir Ilich Lenin, with whose name this prize is linked, is one of the immortal representatives of mankind.

R. Gandhi's meeting with the representatives of the Soviet public was a further graphic manifestation of strengthening Soviet-Indian friendship.

Source FBIS (USSR), 14 June 1985, p. D3 Pages 1

INDIAN CONCERN OVER U.S. ARMING OF PAKISTAN

LD142126 Moscow TASS in English 2023 GMT 14 Jun 85

["Justified Concern" -- TASS headline]

[Excerpt] Moscow June 14 TASS -- TASS political news analyst Boris Chekhonin reports:

The American-Indian talks between President Ronald Reagan and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi have shown that Washington has turned down in a categorical form India's concern over the U.S. policy of mass rearmament of Pakistan.

Facts show that India's concern is absolutely justified. No country of South Asia -- a region with a population of about one billion people -- has ever been turned into such a gigantic arsenal of armaments as Pakistan today. Islamabad spends one third of its annual budget on large-scale rearmament. Added to it should be 3.2 billion dollars supplied by the U.S. in the form of the military-economic aid. According to the PRESS TRUST OF INDIA, Washington is going to expand the scope of this aid. Talks were started between the U.S. and Pakistan on concluding another military-political deal to the sum of 6 billion dollars.

As is known, Pakistan receives from the U.S. the most up-to-date weapons which by no means are defensive ones. The list of the weapons includes "F-16" fighter-bombers capable of delivering missiles with nuclear warheads to the biggest Indian cities, cruise missiles, the most up-to-date "Cobra" helicopters, spying planes and the most up-to-date tanks. The Indian press reports ever more often that Washington connives at Pakistan's activities aimed at creating a nuclear bomb.

Soviet visit not to harm ties with US: PM

Frunze, (Soviet Kirghizia) May 25 (PTI): The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, said here today his visit to the Soviet Union had "gone off very well." He was also confident that this would not lead to any misunderstanding with the Americans.

Talking to Indian newsmen accompanying him on the last day of an official visit marked by a great friendliness, Mr Gandhi said the Soviets had not expressed any concern about India's relations with the United States.

Mr Gandhi said he had a "very good" exchange of views with the Soviet leadership, particularly with the general secretary, Mr Mikhail Gorbachyov.

He said he had come here expecting it would help improve relations and at the end of the visit he was in a position to say: "I think they (the relations) have improved.... What had been important was to get to know and understand the Soviet leadership."

Asked about the follow-up, Mr Gandhi said the talks had already led to the signing of two agreements and they would think about further proposals.

He said there had been no decision yet on accepting the Soviet offer of fighter aircraft to match the US F-16 and other aircraft supplied to Pakistan. He could, however, say the quality of weapons and other defence supplies offered by the Soviet Union would be "good and high."

Mr Gandhi said a decision would be taken on the Soviet offer of a nuclear power station on his return to India. He added that there were some problems because of the Soviet law requiring international safeguard as it was not known how this would affect India's nuclear plans. There had been talks with the Soviets in Delhi, but a final official decision had not been possible before the visit, because Dr Raja Ramanna, chairman of the atomic energy commission, had been away in Cuba. Mr Gandhi said, "We have international safeguards for the American station at Tarapur. This is why we do not want any

more of them (the safeguards)."

Mr Gandhi said his private talks with Mr Gorbachyov had included disarmament, the Indian Ocean and the countries in the region which have specific problems.

Soviet-US relations: He said he had been given no message to convey to the US President, Mr Ronald Reagan, whom he is meeting next month. He said the Soviets were not happy with the Geneva talks. They thought Mr Reagan's "strategic defence initiative" was a setback for disarmament.

The Prime Minister said he thought Mr Gorbachyov was trying to accomplish in the Soviet Union what he (Mr Gandhi) was trying to do in India—improve technology and reorient the labour force. He said "the Soviet Union was very advanced in many fields and Mr Gorbachyov was trying to bring up his country in other fields as well."

Computers: Speaking about computers, Mr Gandhi said the Americans felt that Soviet computers were not "good enough" and at the same time claimed that they felt threatened by Soviet military technology. They cited this as a reason for taking up new kinds of weaponry such as space arms. "There is something wrong somewhere in the American assessment of Soviet technology," he said.

Pakistan: Mr Gandhi said that he had expressed his concern over the expansion of Pakistan's nuclear weapons programme and the unprecedented arms build-up in that country. He said India could match Pakistan in conventional weapons, but at a heavy cost. He said the Soviets had assured him that they "share our concern and anxiety in this regard."

He said the Soviets had expressed unhappiness over the deaths of Soviet soldiers in an explosion at a Pakistani camp. They had also said US arms supplies to Pakistan were hindering a political settlement of the Afghan issue.

Afghanistan: Asked if India shared the view that Pakistan played an active role in Afghanistan, he said there were training camps for Afghan rebels in Pakistan and weapons were channelised to them through the country.

Indo-Soviet ties: Referring to Soviet Union's friendship with India, Mr Gandhi said it was not because of any particular interest it served but because, "we see the situation in the world, in particular areas similarly. Our perceptions are similar." He added, "We both hold the Indo-Soviet Treaty as important. It has been there for so many years. It does not affect our nonalignment."

Punjab: Mr Gandhi said he had explained the Punjab situation to the Soviets and they had not expressed any anxiety. He added that he would discuss his trip to the Soviet Union and the Punjab problem with Opposition leaders on his return to Delhi. **China:** Mr Gandhi said both India and the Soviet Union wanted to normalise relations with China.

"The Soviet Union has been having talks with Beijing, but there are some obstacles. India is also likely to have a dialogue with China," he said.

Boat ride: Mr Gandhi met the Kirghizian Communist Party leader, Mr T.U. Usubaliyev, today and discussed with him relations between India and the republic.

The Prime Minister also had a boat ride in the picturesque Issyk-Kul lake. Mr Gandhi also visited a small town, Cholopon-Ata, situated on the banks of the lake and saw the largest horse breeding farm there. Traditional equestrian contests were especially organised for him.

India test: Mr Gandhi said a festival of India would be held in the Soviet Union in the summer of 1987. A festival of the Soviet Union would also be held in India in the winter of 1988. The India festival would be on the lines of those to be held in US and France this year.

Joint quest for peace

MOSCOW, May 22 (PTI).

PRIME Minister Rajiv Gandhi after his summit with General Secretary Gorbachev has declared that India and the Soviet Union "will always be together in the quest for peace."

At an international press conference here this evening, Mr. Gandhi hastened to add that he is going to Washington next month to establish a relationship with President Reagan, whom he has met only once before briefly, and to improve ties with the United States from where India expected high technology, closer cultural kinship and more trade.

Replying to questions from American correspondents, Mr. Gandhi said he had given 'no commitment' to Mr. Gorbachev that India will not get closer to the West.

Asked if in view of his quest for peace together with the Soviet Union he considered the United States a greater threat to peace than the USSR, Mr. Gandhi noted that the Soviets were the only nuclear power to accept the Delhi Declaration of the six nations calling for a halt to the nuclear race.

"The United States did not even bother to pick up the declaration," he observed.

An American correspondent asked if in view of his expectation of aid from the United States in high technology and trade he would show some 'enthusiasm' for American foreign policy, Mr. Gandhi said "We do not compromise our position in return for anything."

Asked what he thought of Soviet press suggestions linking the assassination of Indira Gandhi with the 'American state terrorism policy,' the Prime Minister said it would be premature for him to comment on the suggestion since the commission of enquiry had not yet submitted its report.

He told another questioner he 'will' discuss American backup for Punjabi terrorists when he meets Mr. Reagan.

Mr. Gandhi confirmed that his Washington visit came up in his discussions with Mr. Gorbachev but said he was not carrying any message from the Soviet leader to the American President.

Asked why he had made his first official visit abroad to the Soviet Union, Mr. Gandhi said: "Well, we have to go somewhere first. The Soviet Union has been an old friend for over 30 years. We have stood together in times of trial and we recognise that. They also were the first to invite me."

He said the Indian foreign policy has been consistent and he did not see any change in it.

He described Indo-American relations as "good", and noted that the United States is now India's largest trade partner.

Mr. Gandhi said the Afghan 'topic' had come up at the summit and he had put forward the Indian view.

"Our position," he said, "is that we are not for any country to interfere or intervene in the internal affairs of another country."

He said Mr. Gorbachev had given him an idea of Pakistan's interference in Afghanistan and of the magnitude of assistance to the insurgents.

A French correspondent referred to the 'spy scandal' in which France and the United States first figured and asked if he had discussed with Mr. Gorbachev the subsequent revelations of Polish and Soviet involvement. "This did not come up during the discussions," Mr. Gandhi replied.

He said he had discussed at the

Continued on Page 5

Joint quest for peace

Continued from Page 1

summit India's worries about Pakistan getting close to development of a nuclear weapon, and added "We are especially worried because we feel the United States could do more to stop Pakistan but was not doing so".

He referred to the recent apprehension by American customs of a Pakistani national's attempt to smuggle out a triggering device and to his being let off after the charge against him was changed, and said "We feel this is serious."

UNI Adds: Mr. Gandhi pointed out that the only exception to the symington agreement was Pakistan.

About Asian security, he said this was an "old concept."

"We are really for nations not interfering or intervening in areas outside their own. India has put forward a proposal for the Indian Ocean being as nuclear free zone."

Similarly, he said other Asian nations had their own proposals. "We do not want Asia to become a hotbed of tension and ships prowling in our

areas and shores."

Asked for his updated assessment of the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty, Mr. Gandhi said it had played a very major role and helped in developing bilateral economic, cultural and other relations.

"We see the future relations, even brighter", he averred.

Replying to another question, Mr. Gandhi said Indo-Soviet cooperation in the field of defence was "improving substantially."

Asked about concessional aid from monetary agencies like the International Development Association, Mr. Gandhi said it was not a quid pro quo. "We would like that as well. I think we need that aid..."

Mr. Gandhi answered in the affirmative when asked whether the Soviet Union's efforts to build bridges of friendship with China figured in his talks with Mr. Gorbachev.

He said he was informed of the Soviet Union's discussions with China. India on its part gave its assessment of its talks with that country. He said the Chinese still persisted with three basic preconditions which was a

"drawback for any real progress...."

Question: Was the border claim one of the three preconditions?

Mr. Gandhi: The border claim is not part of the three pre-conditions.

Mr. Gandhi said the Soviet Union was appreciative of India's offer of good offices to Sri Lanka to solve the ethnic problem in that country. "We explained in great detail what we had done to bring some sort of settlement."

He said the position in Sri Lanka was sensitive and there was need for that government to take some initiative to solve the Tamil problem.

Mr. Gandhi said India firmly believed that there could only be a political solution to the problem and not a military one. "We hope Sri Lanka will come forward for such a solution."

He said the problem of Sikh extremists and terrorists in Punjab figured in the talks. "I think Mr. Gorbachev appreciates the situation."

He told a correspondent that India felt the British government should take more steps to deal with the action of terrorists in that country.

Soviets share concern over Pak arms: PM

FRUNZE, May 25
(UNI & PTI)

PRIME Minister Rajiv Gandhi said today that Indo-Soviet relations are bound to grow from strength to strength as the two countries share identical views on most international issues.

He said the Soviet Union also shared India's concern at Pakistan trying to acquire nuclear capability and at the unprecedented arms build-up by that country.

The Prime Minister made these remarks while addressing Indian newsmen accompanying him on his state visit to the Soviet Union.

He said India could match Pakistan in acquiring conventional arms, but at a very heavy cost.

"Soviet leaders share our concern and anxiety in this regard," he said.

There had been no decision yet, he said, on accepting the Soviet offer of fighter aircraft to match the American F-16 and other aircraft with Pakistan. He could, however, say the quality of weapons and other defence supplies the Soviet Union had offered would be "good and high".

He said it should be possible to take a decision on the Soviet offer of a nuclear power station on his getting back to India.

Mr. Gandhi said there had been some problem because of the Soviet law requiring international safeguards. For it was not known what this meant for India. About a week before the visit, there had been talks in Delhi with the Soviets on it and something was drawn up. But a final official decision had not been possible because Dr. Raja Ramanna, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, had been away in Cuba.

There was no other problem except international safeguards for the Soviet nuclear power station to be constructed in India, he said.

"We have international safeguards for the American station at Tarapur. This is why we do not want any more of them (the safeguards)".

Saying that his visit to the Soviet Union had "gone off very well", Mr. Gandhi asserted that it would not, however, lead to any misunderstanding by the Americans.

He said the Soviet had not expressed to him any concern about India's relations with the United States.

Replying to a query Mr. Gandhi - who is scheduled to visit the United States next month - said he had no message from the Soviet leadership for President Ronald Reagan.

He said various subjects, apart from mutual ties including disarmament and the suggestion to make Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, came up during his discussion with Mr. Gorbachev.

Mr. Gandhi said Soviet co-operation with India in the space field would continue but further joint flights were not on the cards.

He said it has been decided to hold a Festival of India in the Soviet Union in the summer of 1987 and a festival of the Soviet Union in India in the following winter.

He said Mr. Gorbachev impressed him as "a very straight forward and very friendly person".

The Prime Minister said he thought Mr. Gorbachev was trying to do in the Soviet Union what he was trying to do in India - to improve technology,

reorient the labour force and the like.

He said he did not know enough to comment on Soviet computers. The Americans said Soviet computers were not good enough and claimed, at the same time, they feel threatened by Soviet military technology so much that they wanted to take up new kinds of weaponry, such as space arms. "There is something wrong somewhere" about American assessment of Soviet technology.

In reply to a specific question Mr. Gandhi said "the Soviet Union is not happy with the way disarmament talks are progressing at Geneva."

Asked to comment on his current visit to the Soviet Union he said it had provided an opportunity to understand the Soviet leadership.

It had also helped in strengthening traditional friendship and economic ties between the two countries, he added.

As for the Indo-Soviet treaty, "We both hold it important. It has been there for so many years. It does not affect our non-alignment".

Rajiv's concern over build-up around us

MOSCOW, May 21 (UNI).

PRIME Minister Rajiv Gandhi today voiced concern at the militarisation across India's border and in the Indian Ocean and affirmed India's desire to promote harmonious relations in the South Asian region.

Speaking at a banquet hosted by Soviet Communist Party chief Mikhail Gorbachev, Mr. Gandhi said India was opposed to any kind of outside interference or intervention anywhere.

"We desire South Asian Regional

Co-operation (SARC) to make contribution to better mutually beneficial relations among the countries of the region."

In a review of the international scene, Mr. Gandhi referred to tensions in various regions and said world peace and tranquility were closely linked.

A regional conflict could easily turn global and "we must all be greatly concerned" about this, he added.

Dwelling on the situation in the South Asian region, Mr. Gandhi recalled the series of initiatives India had taken in recent months to further improve its relations with its neighbours to promote peace and

co-operation.

Mr. Gandhi spoke of the continued denial of the legitimate rights of Palestinians, the efforts to frustrate the functioning of government in Latin America, the continuing armed conflicts in South-West and South-East Asia and the practice of apartheid and aggression in South Africa against African people.

"None of us while safeguarding the interest of our nations, can overlook our duty to the human race. The prism of geography may colour our peoples differently, but in the white light, we are one humanity."

"It is to the service of that humanity that Indo-Soviet friendship is dedicated," he said.

Praising the Soviet initiative for world peace, Mr. Gandhi said, "We have welcomed the various initiatives that you have personally taken. We sincerely wish success to your efforts."

He said India welcomed the resumption of the USSR-USA Geneva negotiations on disarmament and the resolve of the two nations to work for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

He expressed India's happiness at the Soviet Union's prompt and positive response to the six-nation Delhi

Declaration.

Mr. Gandhi said that in this nuclear age, the basic yearning of all people was for peace. But at the same time the danger to peace had been great.

This danger arose from the weapons that had been developed in the name of security.

"It is a good sign that there is repeated public expression of a desire to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons."

Although the onus of disarmament was that of the nuclear weapon powers, no nation could remain unconcerned. There could be no greater leveller and decimator than a nuclear war.

"Nuclear death will not inspect people's passports. It will not care for nationality, as it will not care for life. There are no winnable wars or impregnable defence against nuclear weapons."

On Indo-Soviet friendship, Mr. Gandhi said the scope for economic, scientific and cultural co-operation was immense.

India and the Soviet Union were both committed to peace. India would continue along the path of national development charted by Nehru and Indira Gandhi.

Gorbachev revives Brezhnev plan

By A. G. Noorani

THE annals of diplomacy provide

flexibility in tactics with which the Soviet Union has pursued its proposal for Asian security ever since Brezhnev propounded it on June 7, 1969. "We are of the opinion that the course of events is also putting on the agenda the task of creating a system of collective security in Asia."

On May 21, 1985, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev recalled pointedly that "a number of new important and constructive initiatives on certain aspects of security of the Asian continent and its individual regions have been put forward in recent years. Among the authors of these initiatives are the USSR and India. The proposals made remain the order of the day in international affairs."

This reminder is surely unnecessary apropos the proposals for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace which he politely mentioned. It was then necessary for the Brezhnev Plan which had been considered as dead. Mr Gorbachev repeated its essentials.

PRECEDENT

Before signing the final act of the Helsinki Conference on security and co-operation in Europe, which ended on August 1, 1975, Brezhnev significantly remarked "Its results can be of use also outside Europe." Immediately, the theme was picked up by Nikolai Obotov in an article entitled "Asia needs its own Helsinki." Now Mr Gorbachev cites "the road to Helsinki" as a good precedent and Obotov provides another commentary expounding the concept.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi aptly remarked that it was an "old concept." But its revival by Mr Gorbachev now is a major diplomatic initiative. It is for the first time in many years that the highest ranking Soviet leader has spoken of it since its author last urged it publicly a decade ago. Meanwhile Soviet writers did pursue the idea. The impression that it was dead was utterly wrong. In 1981, Mongolia began to put forth a variant, no doubt with the USSR's blessings.

The record of the entire episode with its calculated silence and prodigal, culminating in Mr Gorbachev's speech, throws much light on the style of Soviet diplomacy, its patient pur-

pose and its long-term goals despite setbacks and of course, on Mr Gorbachev's calculations.

First, the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr Gromyko tried in October 1969 to obtain the UN General Assembly's endorsement of "effective regional security systems" with the Security Council as monitor, and failed. For nearly three years Soviet leaders refrained from elaborating on Brezhnev's laconic proposal.

In 1972 all the three top leaders spoke up. The Prime Minister, Kosygin formulated on March 14 a set of principles. In elaboration, So did Brezhnev on March 20 more comprehensively. "Collective security in Asia, as we see it, should be based on the principles of renunciation of the use of force between states, of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, of equality and mutual advantage in international relations."

Internal affairs, extensive development of economic and other co-operation on the basis of equality and mutual advantage.

Of course, these do not add up to "collective security." The Indian diplomat who characterised the Brezhnev Plan as "a body of principles in praise of motherhood" was irreverent but not wrong. Collective security is a concept too well defined, not least by the Russians, to be passed off in innocuous formulations.

"Collective security means that if one country is attacked by another country, all countries are attacked by this country... Against India there is an act of aggression from some state. This is aggression not only against India but against all countries of Asia. And all of them must and have the right (sic) to help India against aggression. This is the meaning of collective security," explained Prof. Gueorgui Zadorojnyi, Professor of International Law, Institute of International Relations in Moscow to an Indian querist in a select audience at the International House of Japan. He stayed at the Soviet Embassy during his visit to Tokyo and the Soviet Ambassador was among the audience who heard the lecture on "Recent trends in Soviet diplomatic policy" towards the end of 1969.

This is the strange aspect of the Soviet proposal. The Kosygin and Brezhnev formulations, which President Podgorny also repeated on April 20, 1972, did not spell out collective

security in strictly contrast to the expositions of Soviet commentators repeated in the military aspect. They spoke far too consistently and explicitly, in a set-up which brooks little deviation, to have spoken without official guidance.

The Brezhnev formulations found their way into joint statements and communiqués. Expositions by Soviet writers revealed a totally different scheme. Konstantin Lavrov wrote in Izvestia in 1969 "By collective security is meant joint measures by states to ensure peace, to avert aggression and to fight it, implemented through appropriate international organisation or in accordance with treaties concluded between states" — exactly the words a Soviet work on "modern diplomacy" used.

BROAD HINTS

Soviet Review, published by the Soviet Embassy in Delhi, carried in its issue of June 6, 1972 an article by Novosti's military commentator, S. Kozlov, "For effective collective security." He urged "where exhortations fail, force must be used on a collective basis against the aggressor." Zadorojnyi had proposed an Asian security organisation with "its own security council here." Kozlov also advocated the establishment of "executive bodies." Note, this was after the Kosygin-Brezhnev speeches. The diplomat Mikhail Kapitsa threw broad hints in the same direction. "Pious calls for peace among nations will not help matters. It is also difficult to rely on the UN..."

Indeed, by July 1969 Soviet diplomats in New Delhi had explained the implications of Brezhnev's June 1969 speech informally in these terms: the

USSR and other powers associated with ECAFE would guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of the countries willing to join and assure them of military support, should it be needed. Security guarantees by the great powers were an essential part of the scheme which would be buttressed by economic cooperation and other ties.

On the eve of Brezhnev's visit to India, Soviet Land, an embassy journal, published in September 1973 a revealing soliloquy by Vladimir Simonov: "While proposing collective security, Moscow has, nevertheless,

concluded bilateral treaties of friendship and cooperation with the Asian states. India is an example. Isn't there some contradiction here?" The question, rhetorically posed by him, he thus answered: "True correlation between a system of collective security and a bilateral agreement corresponds to that between a building and a brick."

SETBACK

Addressing a joint session of Parliament in Delhi on November 29, 1973, Brezhnev said, "It seems opportune to hold a thorough and comprehensive discussion on the idea of collective security in Asia." The joint declaration issued that day embodied his generalities but Indira Gandhi rejected his plan firmly and politely.

It was a terrible setback for the plan. The visit had been preceded by a powerful propaganda campaign which was centred on two points: a collective security system in Asia was a matter of urgency and India ought to play a vital part in it. However, the urgency aspect was accompanied with hints that the plan could be implemented in stages - a conference, a declaration of general principles, and thereafter the system itself. The leaders became silent. The writers took over.

It was left to the Mongolian leader, Tsendbal, to make a major move in May 1981. He proposed in his report to the party Congress, "a convention on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations among the countries of Asia and the Pacific Ocean. For this purpose, a conference of countries of the region could be called, and all permanent members of the UN Security Council could be invited to it."

It won, as expected, prompt Soviet support. On September 9, 1981, Daramyn Yondon, the First Deputy Foreign Minister and Special Envoy of the Mongolian President, called on the Prime Minister in New Delhi with a formal proposal. Mrs Gandhi replied, in June 1982, saying that it was practical measures, not institutional arrangements, which were needed.

However, Mongolia's foreign Minister, M. Dugersuren made no secret of the fact that it is "a Pan-Asian system of collective security which is the essence of the Mongolian proposal... Concrete points of the convention could be discussed and coordinated... at a conference." The permanent members of the Security Council "could offer corresponding guarantees to the commitments to be undertaken by the parties to the

agreement."

In sum, the Asian and Pacific states undertake the commitments on "mutual non-aggression and non-use of force." The big five of the Security Council provide the "corresponding guarantees." Only last December, a Soviet exposition of Mongolia's proposal emphasised the guarantee aspect while adding the frills of Brezhnev's "principles."

With such a background it was only a matter of time before a Soviet leader would formally revive the proposal for Asian security. Soviet publicists play an important role in diplomacy. Victor Louis, for example, V. Matveyev's article in *Izvestia* on May 28, 1969 ("Stuffed vacuum") foreshadowed Brezhnev's speech of June 7, 1969. In Moscow, Nikolai Portugalov propounded proposals on the Gulf which were formally announced in India in December 1980.

Mr Gorbachev follows precedent and endorses the major features of old. "The assumption by every permanent member of the UN Security Council of an obligation to observe strictly the principles of non-interference, non-use of force or threat of force in relations with the countries of these continents" of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

This is followed by reference to the Helsinki model specifically for Asia and for "holding at some point in the future an all-Asian forum for an exchange of opinions." India can "play a very important part in this process." He is silent on the guarantees explicitly mooted by Mongolia. But the links are obvious. "Guarantees" are a cloak for intervention. Witness Afghanistan.

If Gorbachev has raised the issue publicly now, which none of his predecessors did for over a decade, it is because he feels more confident than they did. Relations with India have undergone a "qualitative" change in Soviet perception: with a common approach on regional security. The treaty has acquired a new life with Marshal Ustinov pledging last year "complete" support in "any contingency that may arise."

TREATY

Of course, the USSR has miscalculated. But the record on Asian security reveals Soviet objectives and its conception of the treaty as a part of

Pax Sovietica which India cannot ignore. The frenzy with which the Soviet Union concluded treaties with India (1971), Iraq (1972), Afghanistan (1978), Vietnam (1978), South Yemen (1979), Syria (1980) and North Yemen (1984), not to forget those with Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia, show a certain deliberation. Where possible "the creation of an effective security system" was made a treaty obligation, as in the case of Afghanistan. Vietnam refused to oblige.

Brezhnev's plea for Asian security was made in 1969 after the fullest deliberation as a Soviet work on "modern diplomacy" revealed. Its mediocre ambivalence and remarkable consistency have been well noted for a long time. It is an important document in the scheme of

Indo-Soviet tiff on Afghanistan

By H. K. Dua

NEW DELHI, May 30.

India and the Soviet Union are believed to have differed considerably on Afghanistan at the talks that took place in Moscow during Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit.

According to available information, these differences came prominently to the fore when the two sides began working on the joint statement the two sides issued at the end of the Rajiv Gandhi-Gorbachev talks.

These differences in fact held up the finalisation of the joint statement. At one stage it looked as if no such statement would be issued at all.

The differences, it is learnt, related to the concept of non-intervention which the Indian delegation sought to incorporate in the joint statement. Actually, all that the Indian side was trying to do was to reiterate a position of the non-aligned movement on Afghanistan.

Moscow was reluctant to incorpo-

rate any formulation underscoring the concept of non-intervention which, in its view, would have amounted to criticism of its invasion of Afghanistan.

So vehement was Moscow's opposition that at one stage it suggested that it was better not to issue a joint statement at all or drop any reference to Afghanistan. New Delhi was apparently not keen on a statement which made no reference - direct or indirect - to Afghanistan. The omission might have led many in the non-aligned movement to accuse India of acquiescence to Soviet stand on Afghanistan.

Available information suggests that those working on the draft of the joint statement could not come to an agreement for hours and ultimately the matter was referred to higher members of the two delegations. A compromise was arrived at after a series of fresh consultations with the two sides agreeing to use the general formula-

tion India and the Soviet Union adopted in the joint statement at the end of Indira Gandhi's visit to the Soviet Union in 1982.

The joint statement issued last Sunday contains no reference critical of Moscow and at the same time it tries to come close to the Indian position in the non-aligned movement.

The joint statement says, "the two sides express serious concern over the continuation of the hot-beds of tension in South-West Asia and reaffirm their conviction that the problems of the region demand peaceful political solutions paying full respect to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the countries of the region. They call upon the countries of the region to expeditiously terminate the armed conflicts, to exercise restraint and co-operate constructively for reducing tension and restoring peace. India and the Soviet Union reiterate their opposition to all forms of outside

interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the region. They are confident that negotiated political solutions alone can guarantee a durable settlement of the existing problems of the region."

Some members of the Indian delegation have come back with the impression that the Soviet Union is continuing to have a tough posture on Afghanistan and it is unlikely that the current round of discussions on Afghanistan under the UN auspices is going to yield results.

That Mr. Gorbachev would have a tough stand on Afghanistan first came to be known when he met President Zia of Pakistan after Chernenko's funeral. It is well known by now that Gorbachev sternly warned Pakistan against interfering in Afghanistan by helping Afghan insurgents.

The UN emissary, Mr. Diego Cordova, is meanwhile in the area trying to find a way out of the Afghanistan impasse.

Indo-Soviet pact up to 2000 A.D.

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, May 18.

INDIA and the Soviet Union would be signing a long term economic cooperation agreement extending up to 2000 A.D. on next Wednesday, when Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi would be in Moscow for intensive discussions covering bilateral and international issues with the Soviet leaders. The Soviet Union would also be extending a fresh "sizeable" credit to finance some of the projects to be set-up jointly in the immediate future.

This was indicated by Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari, here on Saturday. The Prime Minister would be leaving for Moscow on Tuesday along with senior officials for a five-day sojourn. The Prime Minister would be having exclusive discussions with Soviet President Gorbachev on Wednesday, soon after which, several agreements covering cooperation in economic and other fields are expected to be signed.

Mr. Bhandari described the visit of the Prime Minister as "important". Though it formed part of the traditional and periodical consultations and cooperation in various fields between the two countries, the visit is expected to provide an opportunity for in depth discussions for the first time between the two leaders who have assumed their high offices only a few months ago.

The international and regional issues on which there would be exchange of views would include disarmament, peace and development, the Afghan situation and Iran-Iraq war would also figure in the talks.

Mr. Bhandari said that the weapons sale was not slated for discussion during the visit. He also clarified that the relations between India and any of the super powers was not at the expense of other super power and were not based on exclusivity.

Mr. Bhandari said that the economic cooperation between the two countries being envisaged would cover fields like power, coal, oil and machine building. He would not specify the projects that would be covered, but said that the nuclear power station was still under discussion and

would not form part of the proposed agreements.

The Prime Minister would be attending the plenary talks between the two delegations beginning on the very first day of his visit. The Soviet leaders would be hosting a banquet on Tuesday. On Wednesday after exclusive talks with the Soviet President, Gorbachev, the Prime Minister would be addressing a press conference.

On Thursday and Friday, the Prime Minister and his party would be spending their time in Minsk the capital of Belorussia and Frunze in Kirgizstan. The Prime Minister would be leaving for India on Sunday from Kirgizstan.

During the stay in the Soviet capital, the Prime Minister would also attend a ceremony on Wednesday of naming one of the squares in the memory of late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi. He would also attend a public meeting.

PM's USSR visit begins today

Trade ties to get a fillip

By George Madukhathom

NEW DELHI, May 20 — The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the Soviet Union, beginning on Tuesday, is expected to provide a new dimension to Indo-Soviet relations, particularly in the field of economic co-operation.

During Mr Gandhi's visit to Moscow, a number of proposals in the field of economic co-operation and trade, which were under discussion at lower levels, are likely to get the seal of approval. It is clear that India will spare no efforts to reassure the Soviet Union that it will continue its traditional ties of friendship and co-operation with that country. This will go a long way in dispelling doubts that India is coming closer to the United States and other western nations at the expense of the Soviet Union. The massive economic co-operation and trade expansion projects, likely to be finalised during Mr

Gandhi's visit, will give some amount of permanency to Indo-Soviet relations for a long time to come.

An important protocol for Indo-Soviet economic co-operation, recently finalised in Moscow by the Indo-Soviet Joint Commission, will be signed during Mr Gandhi's visit.

The details of the protocol are yet to be released, but sources say that it will spell out several guidelines for future economic co-operation between the two countries.

Simultaneously, the new five-year trade plan, finalised recently, will also be ratified during the visit. According to present indications, the two-way Indo-Soviet trade turnover envisaged in the five-year trade plan between 1986-1990 may be Rs 30,000-36,000 crores. This will automatically involve a substantial increase in economic co-operation, par-

ticularly in regard to Soviet-aided projects.

There are indications that the Soviet Union is willing to provide substantial credit for not only the ongoing projects but also several new projects under discussion. But, the problem facing India in undertaking some of the major projects is shortage of local resources as the Soviet Union is willing to finance only the foreign exchange part of the investment — that too only when Soviet equipment is imported for the projects.

Sources express considerable optimism regarding the Soviet offer to set up an 800-mw atomic power plant in India on a turnkey basis.

It is likely that India may finalise the long-standing proposal for the establishment of the atomic power plant. The proposal was discussed on several occa-

Continued from P 1 Col 5.

sions, more recently when the Atomic Energy Commission Chairman, Dr Raja Ramanna, visited the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union will provide credit for this project also to the extent of foreign exchange component.

Discussions between FICCI and its Soviet counterpart have resulted in several proposals for import of Soviet machinery. It is likely that in the coming months, many of these proposals will materialise, thus providing new ties between the Indian private sector and Soviet trade and industry organisations.

Though no collaboration for new coal fields is envisaged at present, the USSR is expected to take up some more new projects in the existing coal fields like Singareni and Jharia.

Among the new projects which will receive Soviet assistance are the six-million-tonne oil refinery at Karnal and the 1,000-mw super thermal power station at Kahalgaon. One or two small thermal power stations, including one at the Bhilai steel plant, will also receive Soviet aid.

The Soviet Union is also anxious to bid for the huge IDJ gas pipeline project if tenders are floated for the same. With the construction of the gigantic gas pipeline which carries gas from Siberia to western Europe, the Soviet Union has acquired considerable expertise in building such pipelines.

The proposal to set up an alumina plant of 900,000-tonne capacity in Andhra Pradesh with Soviet collaboration is still hanging fire, though that country had agreed to finance the foreign exchange part of the project. India is finding it difficult to find local resources for the project, especially after going in for the French-aided alumina plant in Orissa. While in the Orissa project, the French are dragging their feet on the promise to buy back alumina, the USSR has offered to buy a substantial proportion of the alumina from the Andhra project.

On the oil front, the Soviet Union proposes to step up the number of its teams prospecting for oil by seismic methods from three to eight, repair teams from two to eight and drilling teams from one to three.

Huge Soviet credit for various Indian projects

From N. Ram

MOSCOW, May 22.

Two major agreements on economic co-operation—one relating to Soviet credit to the extent of one billion roubles (about Rs. 1000 crores) to cover specific Indian projects in oil, coal, power, machine building and ferrous sectors, the other an original type of long-range framework for fixing the directions of bilateral cooperation in economic, trade, science and technology areas—were signed by India and the Soviet Union here today.

In an impressive Kremlin ceremony attended on the Soviet side by a large number of Politburo members lining up behind the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, signed the two agreements and exchanged the documents in a mood that was visibly upbeat and ended in a toast.

The leading members of the Indian delegation included the Finance Minister, Mr. V. P. Singh, and the Chairman of the Policy Planning Committee, Mr. G. Parthasarathy, at the Cabinet rank level.

The signing followed nearly three hours of unstructured talks without aides between Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

Current focus

The first agreement tying up the big Soviet rouble credit has a current focus. It covers the financing of the cost of Soviet goods and services in respect of participation in projects that form very much part of India's Seventh Plan or future plans. The agreement does not specify the separate allocations for each of the sectors or projects, but the assessment is that the credit will satisfactorily cover the Soviet participation costs in the projects.

The terms of the credit are highly attractive, although they have not been publicly announced. The repayment will be over a 20 year period with a three year moratorium and the interest rate will be two and a half per cent per annum. These are known in international lending parlance as semi-grant if not near-grant terms. The estimate is that the grant element

constitutes some 60 per cent of the rouble credit.

The activity that is expected to take a leading share of the credit is an integrated project for onshore oil exploration—where the Soviet Union has considerable expertise. The idea of Soviet participation in this area is an Indian initiative.

The project will bring in major Soviet equipment and expertise and the responsibility of producing results will be that of the Soviet Union. The areas to be explored remain to be identified with a degree of finality, but the Indian official assessment is that this major project will be quite easily covered under the credit.

The second sector in order of importance to be covered under the rouble credit agreement is coal. The Soviet credit relates to an open cast mine in the Jharia fields with coal washeries, the Moher and Khadia open cast mine in the Singrauli coalfields and Sitanala underground colliery in the Jharia coalfields with washeries. It includes the setting up of an institute for designing coal washeries plants and facilities for the detailed design of coal projects. It also encompasses the modernisation of the Patherdih washery.

The third project in which major Soviet participation will be covered under the credit agreement is the Kahalgaon thermal power plant in Bihar. The technology for this is familiar and established and it will be comparable to the Vindhyachal thermal power project under construction. There will be a planned capacity of 840 MW in Kahalgaon, four units of 210 MW each, only slightly smaller than Vindhyachal.

A feature of the Soviet participation in such projects is that the bulk of the cost will be funded by India—up to 75 or 80 per cent—but there is a key or vital input without which, qualitatively speaking, the project cannot take off.

The participation in the machine building sector under the agreement relates to India's plans for modernisation or renovation of the Heavy Engineering Corporation and other plants, with which the Soviet Union will be associated. The association with the ferrous sector means es-

entially activity designed to tone up old steel plants, and will not involve any new major steel project. There could be the addition of other modest projects under the agreement at a later point.

'Flexibility'

Indian official sources characterised the credit agreement as "flexible", which means the repayment for the principal and the payment of interest in respect of this credit will be in rupees in line with all past credits. Further, the repayment will be used by the Soviet side for the purchase of Indian goods in accordance with the Indo-Soviet trade agreement in force from time to time.

The broad framework agreement relates to the prospects of economic, trade and S and T cooperation between the two countries for the period up to 2000 A.D.

The agreement is based on the evolving pattern of development of technology and capability on both sides, but envisages new forms of economic relations and trade. The main economic sectors covered by this guideline agreement are: power, petroleum, coal, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgy, machine building, production cooperation and science and technology.

This agreement of India participating in civil and industrial projects in the Soviet Union is in a form and manner which will be mutually agreed upon in specific cases. There is also the possibility of cooperation in the construction of industrial and other projects in third countries.

India and the Soviet Union have agreed to take measures for the "dynamic and steady growth of mutual trade" in accordance with the rupee trade and payment arrangements on a long-term basis. Aside from the emphasis on maintaining the tempo of growth of trade, there is an interest in finding new forms of trade, including production cooperation, co-production and cooperation in the services sector. The hope is that one of the key areas taken up for follow-up and development after this visit will be science and technology—the fundamental and applied sciences and also technology.

Rajiv has a walk through history

From N. Ram

MINSK (USSR), May 23.

After the intensive sessions of official talks and other engagements in Moscow, the Rajiv Gandhi visit moved into another, catching a glimpse of this country made with a two-day visit to Minsk, the capital of Soviet Byelorussia which is situated at the western boundaries of the USSR.

Thursday's programme was devoted to history—the story of the great heroism of the Soviet, and in particular the Byelorussian people, in the anti-fascist war, the story of Nazi bestiality and assault on civilisation and humanity.

The Indian Prime Minister followed up his brief discussion session with the leaders of the Byelorussian Republic by laying a wreath at Minsk's Victory Square which has eternal flames and a lofty obelisk commemorating the soldiers and partisans who died in the Second World War in this hero city.

Razed to the ground: Minsk, with a population of some 1.4 million, is an advanced city with a history of nearly a thousand years. But it was razed to the ground by the Nazi occupiers and has been rebuilt completely after the war. It is a city of broad avenues, much greenery, elegant squares and modern apartment buildings.

It has a major museum of the history of the great patriotic war and the Prime Minister was given a tour of each section. At the end of it, he wrote the following message in the book of visitors:

"The struggle of the Soviet and Byelorussian people against fascism is so strongly brought out that one immediately feels a strong abhorrence of the evils of those times and it reminds one of the need to put all our forces together so as not to allow such forces to rise ever

again. My compliments to all those who stood by their ideals and principles in this fight against fascism. We salute the bravery of the Soviet people."

Human tragedy: Next came a learning and ceremonial visit to a very special place in Byelorussia, a place of overpowering human tragedy and historical lessons.

"He who comes to Minsk for the first time would certainly go to Khatyn by picturesque roads..."

"He who wants to know more about Byelorussians, about their worries and concerns is taken to Khatyn..."

"He who is worried about mankind's future and the earth's fate must know about Khatyn..."

The visit to Khatyn is along an astonishingly beautiful route through wooded country of fir, pine and birch and sparsely populated human activity.

Khatyn used to be a small Byelorussian village of 26 households, safeguarded against the wind by white birch trees and tall pines. But on March 22, 1943 Khatyn ceased to exist, literally.

All its inhabitants barring one—Josef Kamin-ski, who narrowly escaped death by fire and bullets—were systematically exterminated by a punitive Nazi detachment. Seventyfive children were among them. And absolutely everything in this village was destroyed.

Today, the village is a monument to historical tragedy. Khatyn is very green, its grass well tended, its larks returned, its houses of 42 years ago represented by 26 house frames, its wells renovated, its flowers in bloom and its paths reconstructed. But it is not a living village, merely a grim memorial site representing 185 other Byelorussian villages liquidated by the Nazis with their entire population. The war toll in this Republic which now has some 10 million

people was more than two million. In other words, every fourth Byelorussian was killed in the anti-fascist struggle.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and his family stopped at virtually every memorial stone or landmark here, including the bronze figure of Josef Kamin-ski, the sole survivor, son in arms, looking war-ningly at visitors coming his way, the cemetery of villages, the wall of memory of the victims of concentration camps.

This walk through history and paying tribute to the victims of war and fascism on the fortieth anniversary of the victory in the great patriotic war was an event to which the Soviet media paid major attention.

PTI, UNI report:

Byelorussia is one of the 15 Soviet republics and it lies in the western part of the Soviet Union. Its name means white Russia as the people in this region are fairer than the rest of the Russians. The region is covered with snow from September to April. Many Indians study at higher educational institutions in Minsk.

Before his departure for Minsk, a farewell ceremony was held for Mr. Gandhi at the Georgiyevsky Hall of the grand Kremlin palace. The Soviet leader Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev bid farewell to Mr. Gandhi.

At the airport in Moscow, India's tricolour and the Soviet national flag were hoisted. Troops of the Moscow garrison lined up guard of honour for Mr. Gandhi. The military band played the national anthems of the two countries.

Mr. Gandhi inaugurated in Moscow the Indira Gandhi Square near the botanical garden of the Moscow University. The square is another in the series named after founders of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Mr. Gandhi also laid flowers at the memorial plaque of the Jawaharlal Nehru Square.

Source FBIS (PRC), 29 May 1985, p. F2 Pages 1INDIA'S GANDHI RETURNS HOME FROM SOVIET UNION

OW261234 Beijing XINHUA in English 1218 GMT 26 May 85

[Text] New Delhi, May 26 (XINHUA) -- Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi returned here today after his six-day state visit to the Soviet Union. This is his first official tour since he assumed office on 31 October last year. Talking to newsmen at the airport, Rajiv Gandhi described this visit as very successful.

Under one of the two agreements signed during the visit, India will get a whopping 11 billion rupees (about 911 million U.S. dollars) credit from Moscow to finance a package of oil, power and coal projects. The second agreement sets out basic guidelines for economic, trade, scientific and technical cooperation between the two countries for the remaining period of the current century.

The Indian prime minister said that the Soviet proposal for Asian collective security was figured in his talks in Moscow but nothing concrete emerged at the moment.

He pointed out that other proposals like declaring Indian Ocean a zone of peace and for a nuclear free zone in the region have been discussed. Efforts in this connection would be continued, he added.

Referring his upcoming visit to the U.S.A. in June, Rajiv Gandhi said he is going there without a message from the Soviet leaders to the U.S. India will convey its opposition to the U.S. "star war" program, he noted.

Talking to Indian correspondents accompanying him on the visit yesterday, Rajiv said that his visit to the Soviet Union has "gone off very well". He asserted that it would not lead to any misunderstanding by the Americans.

He said that the Soviets had not expressed to him any worry about India's relations with the U.S. India and the Soviet Union have reiterated their close bond of friendship and decided to develop it with regular exchange of visits at the highest level.

PM280927 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 May 85 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "R. Gandhi on His Trip to the Soviet Union"]

[Text] New Delhi, 26 May -- My visit to the USSR and the talks with General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders were very successful and fruitful. The Soviet-Indian agreements that were signed in Moscow and that cover a broad spectrum of economic, trade, scientific, and technical cooperation are a concrete illustration of the broadening and further strengthening of the friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union and are of great importance for the two states, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India has stated at a press conference at Delhi's Palam Airport. He returned home today after paying an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

The head of the Indian Government gave a high appraisal of the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union, which firmly comes out in favor of preserving peace and preventing a new world war. Wherever I went, in Moscow, Belorussia or Kirgizia, the theme of the defense of peace was the principal one in our conversations with the Soviet leaders and members of Soviet public, Rajiv Gandhi emphasized. He pointed out that India shares this striving for peace. Our country, the prime minister emphasized, is against the U.S. "star wars" program and I intend to tell this straight to President Ronald Reagan of the United States when I meet with him.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1224 GMT on 26 May carries an otherwise identical report on Gandhi's statements that adds the following comments: "We consider that the 'star wars' programme enhances the danger of a nuclear war still more and poses a threat to all states, including India. More and more countries, even in the West, are expressing disagreement with those plans of Reagan."]

Rajiv Gandhi said that, as has been shown by his conversations with the Soviet leaders, the USSR supports the Nonaligned Movement and its contribution to the cause of peace and to the struggle against the forces of imperialism and colonialism.

Thousands of Indian people who thronged the streets adjacent to Palam Airport welcomed the prime minister with placards proclaiming "Long live the unbreakable Indian-Soviet friendship!"

SPECIAL REPORT

RAJIV GANDHI

The Message to Moscow,

RAJIV GANDHI set some kind of a record on last fortnight's visit to the Soviet Union. At every city on his schedule, he deplaned in unseasonal rain. When he left, it was in brilliant sunshine. But there was a symbolism in the meteorological phenomena. On his first official visit since becoming prime minister, Rajiv managed to firmly consolidate the durable love affair between the Soviet Union and the Nehru family. But though the visit was a clear indication of the future direction of Indian foreign policy, it also offered a rare and intimate glimpse of the prime minister's operating style, his interaction with his close aides and advisers and their place in the current Indian power structure. Associate Editor DILIP BOBB was on board the Boeing that carried Rajiv and his entourage to Moscow and back. His report:



FOR VISITORS to the Soviet Union, the most-sought-after souvenir after Stolichnaya vodka is a stout wooden doll that opens in the middle to reveal another and yet another till the last one, tinier than a thumbnail. In many ways, the multiple doll symbolises more than anything else, the problems of probing the collective mind of the Soviet leadership in bilateral exchanges: strip one layer, and another appears in its place. In that context, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi didn't quite get down to uncovering the last miniscule doll during last fortnight's whirlwind visit to the Soviet Union, but he came as close to it as was politically and humanly possible.

That, in itself, was the single most creditable achievement of his high-profile, five-day tour that succeeded in elevating Indo-Soviet relations to a new and more mutually beneficial plateau after a period of relative uncertainty and edginess on both sides. In fact, when Air-India's Boeing 707, Annapurna, carrying the

prime minister and his 31-member official entourage touched down at Moscow's Sheremetiavo-1 Airport in driving rain and a bone-chilling wind, senior aides on board were still unclear as to whether or not the reception would match the weather. "We really had no indication of how they were going to treat the visit. We had been preparing for it for weeks but in all our discussions they gave us absolutely no clue as to what their thinking was," said a top official.

In the end, the worries and uncertainty cleared as abruptly as the drizzle and the long-lasting love affair between the Soviets and the Nehru family passed on to the newest member of the clan. Despite his relative inexperience and lack of exposure, Rajiv's boyish good looks, his natural charm and seeming sincerity exerts a powerful pull. The day before his arrival, a young Russian woman interviewed on Soviet television was asked why she sounded so enthusiastic about seeing Rajiv. Her answer: "Because he is the most handsome leader in the world." Though superficial and trite, it was nonetheless a response that manifested itself in remarkable ways and over the widest possible spectrum of straight-laced Soviet society.

In an interview shortly before the visit, the new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachov, had remarked that "Indian leaders are received with a special feeling here" and it was clearly no hollow platitude. All along the broad and lengthy expanse of Gorky Street, Moscow's main boulevard, hundreds of people of all ages and both sexes braved the daunting weather to grab a glimpse of the young Indian leader and greet him with shouts of '*Miree, Druzbah*' (peace, friendship) as he flashed past in his bullet-proof Zil limousine flanked by an impressive wedge of motorcycle outriders.

For the next two days, as Rajiv and his close aides closetted themselves in the historic and stunningly beautiful innards of the Kremlin with Soviet leaders, *Miree, Druzbah* continued to remain the dominant theme. Outside, the winter thaw had given way to the first flush of a Moscow spring when the apple blossoms, lilacs

and tulips that offer welcome and colourful contrast to the drab and depressing architecture of the buildings and condominiums, are in full and glorious bloom. Inside, the first flush of the Indo-Soviet spring was experiencing an equally luxuriant flowering. Not since the intimate affinity between Jawaharlal Nehru and Nikita Khrushchev have leaders of the two countries forged such an instant and visible rapport as did Rajiv Gandhi and Mikhail Gorbachov, a rapport that was already tentatively established during their first meeting at the funeral of Gorbachov's predecessor, Konstantin Usti-

that proved to be of infinitely more import and significance.

Kremlin-watchers were quick to note the many ways in which Gorbachov deliberately broke protocol, much to the annoyance of his stolid and straight-jacketed security guards, during the two days that he and Rajiv were together. On the morning that the private talks between the two leaders were to start, Gorbachov arrived unannounced and certainly unscheduled at the Kremlin apartment where Rajiv and his family were staying ten minutes before they were officially supposed to meet. In what Soviet officials admit is a rare and unusual gesture, Gorbachov informed his bemused Indian counterpart that it was too beautiful a day to waste and rather than drive to the block where the talks were scheduled in curtained limousines, they would do better to walk. While security procedures were thrown out of synch, Gorbachov, stout and muscular with a livid scar across his broad forehead and Rajiv, slim and elegant in his Nehru jacket and tasselled Gucci shoes, linked arms and strolled through the Kremlin gardens. At one point, during the walk Gorbachov stopped, broke off a branch of lilac and presented it to Rajiv



Photographs by TASS

Gorbachov presenting Rajiv a lilac blossom on their Kremlin stroll

novich Chernenko, earlier this year.

The official schedule, in fact, was a mere formality. Details of the two economic agreements signed in Moscow under the glittering chandeliers of the Kremlin's historic Vladimir Hall had already been worked out between the two sides well in advance of the visit. One gives India, Soviet credit to the tune of one billion roubles (Rs 1,400 crore) to finance a wide range of projects, mainly in power, coal, oil, machine-building and ferrous technology with the low interest credit to be used for Soviet purchase of Indian goods. The other, more wide-ranging agreement, is set in a longer-term perspective and chalks out the directions of economic, scientific and technical cooperation till the year 2000. But eventually, it was the shadows rather than the substance

with an impish flourish. Later, the two leaders kept the entire Politburo waiting half an hour for the official signing of the agreements because, as Gorbachov later said with a laugh, "we forgot to look at our watches". Clearly, the talks between the two leaders were emboldened by the rapport that they had already struck. In retrospect, it was, in a way, inevitable. Gorbachov and Rajiv have much that is in common. Both are young—at 55 Gorbachov is the youngest leader the Soviets have had and certainly the most unconventional. Both have embarked on a massive reorientation programme in their respective countries, a programme that has its base in a new approach to issues, the workings of the Government and the induction of new technology from the West. More important, in conversations with Soviets, it is apparent that Gorbachov like Rajiv in India, symbolises a new hope and optimism for his

people and their future.

But despite the genuine warmth and affinity displayed by both leaders, there were shortfalls in expectations. The Soviets have been making a concerted effort to get a commitment from India on an extension of the 20-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1971 between Mrs Gandhi and Leonid Brezhnev which expires in 1991. The Indian side has so far been hedging and stalling and the Soviets were clearly expecting a firm commitment during the visit. The fact that it was not forthcoming indicates that the Indian Government is not interested in renewing the treaty. Similarly, the Soviets were overly keen to get a definite yes from India on the purchase of the MiG-29 which they have been plugging as a counter to Pakistan's F-16s. Instead, they got a *nyet*, or rather, a not yet.

But clearly the disappointments were more than offset by the gains. Soviet worries that Rajiv's pro-western image and outlook would take India even further on the divergent path that started with the country's arms diversification programme in the late '70s were soon dispelled by Rajiv's strident and in fact, excessive criticism of the US during his visit. In diplomatic terms, it seemed an imprudent and negative approach considering the recent upturn in Indo-US relations, his programme to induct state-of-the-art technology available only in the US and its ally, Japan, and the fact that he is scheduled to visit that country next month. His statements are certain to upset the occupants of the White House and Capitol Hill.

Yet, the fact that he deliberately embarked on such a course is clear indication that the edifice of India's future foreign policy will rest heavily on the firm foundations of India's relationship with the Soviet Union. At his crowded press conference in Moscow, Rajiv, when asked why he had chosen Moscow for his first official tour as prime minister, jokingly replied that "I had to start somewhere and it so happens that the Soviets asked me first". But senior foreign office officials accompanying the prime minister confirmed that whatever wooing was done as far as the West was concerned, the two top priorities in India's foreign policy will be the Soviet Union and India's neighbours. In fact, while in the middle of his talks in Moscow, Rajiv summoned Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari and instructed him to take off for Sri Lanka on their return to ensure that Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayewardene makes a visit to New Delhi before the first week of June.

In Moscow, there were other indica-

tions of India's policy to maintain close links with the Soviets. The joint communique issued at the end of the visit was only remarkable for the issues that were left unsaid, namely Afghanistan and Kampuchea, two areas where India has been consistently criticised for its rather lonely pro-Soviet stand, specially since it is the Soviet presence in Afghanistan that offers the US a tailor-made excuse to pour arms into Pakistan. But obviously the success of Rajiv's visit depended on bending with the breeze without actually breaking. "The Soviets know full well that we disapprove of their presence, a fact we have impressed upon them in private before. But we also appreciate that they will not leave till they are absolutely sure of leaving behind a pro-Soviet regime that faces no threat from the Mujahedeen. The solution is a political one and not a military one," said a senior member of the Indian delegation in Moscow.

BUT whatever the perceptions, Rajiv's visit was not an absolutely unqualified success from the Indian point of view and that seemed more a matter of bad planning than any diplomatic gaffes on his part. For one, it was clearly clumsy policy to arrange his visits to the Soviet Union and the US so close together, knowing that in Moscow he would be compelled to adopt an anti-US stand which would hamstring his subsequent dealings with the US Government during his visit to the United States.

Secondly, it seemed surprising that he should have spent three days out of five visiting monuments in Minsk or watching a slushy equestrian display in Issyk-kul in Khirgizia on the Chinese border when he would have been better served getting acquainted with the Soviet leadership in Moscow, specially if the Soviet Union is to play a pivotal role in Indian foreign policy. Informal chats with Soviet leaders like the wily and experienced Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko would have been far more constructive than exchanging pleasantries with the first secretary of the communist party of Khirgizia in faraway Frunze.

The cooing and billing apart, Rajiv's Russian rendezvous contained a significance that extended well beyond the con-

finer of Indo-Soviet ties. As his first official visit since becoming prime minister, it offered, for one, a rare opportunity to observe at close and intimate quarters how Rajiv tackled his first foreign policy test, his relationship with his close aides and advisers and where they stood in the new hierarchy, and his operating style. It proved a revealing exercise.

Despite his deceptively youthful demeanour—at times it is difficult to accept the fact that he is prime minister of the world's largest democracy—Rajiv radiates a subtle charisma. In Moscow, on his first couple of engagements, he appeared a bit nervous and unsure of himself. But as the visit progressed, his confid-



Gorbachov and Rajiv signing the economic agreement in the Kremlin with key Indian officials and Politburo members ranged behind

ence grew visibly and by the end he was performing like he had been doing it all his life. He displayed a casual and relaxed style that was strangely appealing, specially in the stiflingly bureaucratic atmosphere of Moscow. Despite the efforts of Soviet security personnel to hustle him along whenever there were crowds present, Rajiv made a point to exchange words with bystanders or wave and smile in appreciation of the fact that they had come out in inclement weather to see him, even on the most solemn of occasions.

The fact that his meeting with Gorbachov extended well beyond the deadline indicated that even without his aides, he can hold his own with the second most

powerful man on earth and also a man who worships a different ideological deity. At no time, even ranged alongside the stern and aged members of the Soviet Politburo, did he look uncomfortable and out of place. The job is obviously growing on him and vice versa.

Alongside his attractive wife Sonia, they project the same romantic appeal that has endeared Britain's Prince Charles and Lady Diana to millions. Sonia, however, has a lot to learn from her husband. A person who has long shunned the limelight and is obviously uncomfortable in it, she seemed unable to overcome her diffidence throughout the trip. It clearly had little to do with security. In no other

from the many advantages and privileges for the young, and Rahul and Priyanka, despite the presence of more seasoned performers, went a long way in winning friends and influencing the Soviet people.

The curious composition of the delegation was, in fact, even more of a revelation. Whether by deliberate design or by accident, the prime minister's party was made up of the current movers and shakers, the men, or most of the men, who now hold India's destiny in their untied hands. The laid back informality between most members of the party—a strikingly new element in Indian bureaucracy—was of the kind that exists only in people who wear power well and without

TASS



fear or favour. That, more than anything else, is a reflection on Rajiv's style more than theirs for they represent the people he trusts more than anybody else, and are those who he can relate to.

THOUGH number five in terms of protocol, the top dog is obviously Rajiv's close friend and Parliamentary Secretary Arun Singh. Despite the presence of more senior officials like Finance Minister V.P. Singh, G. Parthasarathi, chairman of the policy planning committee, and Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari, Arun Singh is obviously The Man when it comes to taking decisions, and he takes them instantly, secure in the knowledge that he is doing just what Rajiv would want him to do. His authority, despite his inexperience, is unquestioned. Unlike the abrasive Arun Nehru who likes hogging the limelight, Arun Singh prefers to stay in the background, hands in his pockets, quietly observing the scene and issuing rapid-fire instructions when required, especially on matters concerning the security of the First Family. And, for a man in his position and influence, he is surprisingly accessible and open, with none of the arrogant imperiousness of people who have their first taste of power.

Another man who maintains a low profile and yet has Rajiv's ear and trust is Finance Minister V.P. Singh. His conversations with Rajiv seem more those of a friend and valued adviser than a politician who holds a crucial portfolio. The fact that he has a clean image is what perhaps endears him to Rajiv and lends an easy

familiarity to their relationship. As finance minister, his was a crucial role in Moscow considering that the agreements signed were mainly economic but not for one moment did he behave like he had more right to be there than any of the others, a trait that seems to be in short supply among the rest of his more stodgy ministerial colleagues.

Rajiv also seems to have a good equation with Romesh Bhandari, perhaps because of the very characteristics that some of Bhandari's colleagues in the Indian Foreign Service are highly critical of—his casual and informal approach and his dovish, make-love-not-war image. But Bhandari's relaxed and informal style is certainly a welcome change from the rigid and overly conservative attitude of some of his more illustrious predecessors. Certainly, none of them would have replied the way he did to the question of what it was like working for Rajiv. "I'll give you the answer in one word," he said, "exhilarating."

Of Rajiv's other aides, Oscar Fernandes clearly has the edge over the others present in Moscow like Gopi Arora and C.R. Gharekhan, in terms of access to the prime minister and delegation of authority. At the official banquets and get-togethers with their Soviet counterparts, old-timers like G. Parthasarathi seemed to be anachronisms, there for protocol reasons rather than their place in the new scheme of things. What was in evidence was a tightly-knit team, inexperienced and perhaps unacquainted with the devious ways of the world they now inhabit, but still a team.

In that sense, Rajiv's visit to the Soviet Union was more indicative of the new Indian powerhouse than the one that sits in the gilded halls of the Kremlin. The Soviets have traditionally had a soft corner for the Indian people and the Indian leadership, one of whom actually breathed his last in one of their cities. Three days after Rajiv left Moscow with his entourage, his official business well behind him, the Soviet press and television channels were still giving him top billing and the crowds at his non-official stops, even more enthusiastic. How long the affair lasts will depend on events beyond his control. But whether it was the overpowering atmosphere of Moscow, the genteel elegance of Minsk or the coarseness of Khirgizia, he left behind a lasting impression of warmth and sincerity and above all, a dedication to ideals that, strangely enough, suddenly seemed much more attainable.

country could India's First Family have been safer. Yet on more than one occasion on her separate schedule, she brushed past onlookers who had waited for hours to see her, and at one point an accompanying journalist gently suggested that a wave or *namaste* would do her image no harm.

But the situation was saved by the most unlikely of ambassadors—her two children Rahul and Priyanka. Unspoilt and attractive, they have a vulnerability that is intensely appealing. Their casual attire and their friendly nature only adds to the appeal. On the special flight to Moscow, restive in the confines of the plush cabin up front reserved for the prime minister's family, they wandered around the plane joking with their security personnel or in polite conversation with their father's aides. The Soviets have a great fondness for children, as is apparent

SUMMITS

Tightrope Walking

When Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi first took office last October there were thoughts that the young Western-oriented technocrat might shift India's foreign policy away from its traditional close relationship with Moscow. But in choosing the Soviet Union for his first official state visit, Gandhi clearly signaled that New Delhi would not forget, as he put it, "friends who have stood by us in times of need." The six-day visit, concluded last week, cemented Indian-Soviet economic ties into the next century and won India significant new military aid. But the premier was careful to note that India's closeness with Moscow was "not

only soft drinks due to Gorbachev's new campaign against alcoholism — the Soviet leader called for "an over-all, comprehensive approach to the problem of security in Asia." Afterwards Gandhi said that "nothing concrete" had resulted from Gorbachev's proposal, and that other proposals for a "zone of peace" and a "nuclear-free zone" in Asia had to be considered. Southeast Asian reactions were similarly lukewarm. Indonesia's Foreign Minister Mochtar Kusumaatmadja told a Jakarta newspaper that a regional meeting would only make problem-solving more complex.

Gandhi also journeyed to Frunze, a 577,000-pop. regional capital due north of Kashmir and not far west of the Chinese border. There he disappeared from the press contingent for a while and was said to have visited secret military installations. Back in Delhi, Indian officials felt they had a fresh perception of Moscow's view of China. In contrast to earlier positions, the Soviets seemed actually to be urging negotiations on India's border dispute with China, they said. Gorbachev mentioned the Soviet Union's own territorial dispute with the Chinese, and both sides agreed on the need to improve relations with Peking.

Strategic questions aside, the keystone of Gandhi's trip was the signing of two economic accords, one a 15-year



Gandhi meets Gorbachev: A new China stance?

a friendship against anyone," and that relations with the United States, which Gandhi will visit beginning June 11, were still "good."

Indeed, Gandhi walked a tightrope in his desire to maintain India's traditional position as leader of the Non-Aligned Movement. After a private, 3½-hour meeting with new Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the Indian premier seemed genuinely impressed by his host. "Surprisingly," said Gandhi, "I feel that what he is trying to do in the Soviet Union is not very different from what we are trying to do in India;" that is, "getting in new technology, new production methods, reorienting the labour force... bringing it up on line with any other country." On the other hand Gandhi implicitly criticised the Soviet Union's continued military presence in Afghanistan. India's position, he said, was "very clear" on the Afghan issue: "We are not for any country interfering or intervening in the internal affairs of another country."

Gandhi also seemed cool to Gorbachev's call for an all-Asian security forum patterned after the 1975 Helsinki conference on security in Europe. At a Kremlin dinner for Gandhi — serving

program of scientific and technological co-operation, the other a generous aid package which would provide Soviet credits of one billion roubles (\$1.4b.) for the construction of industrial projects in India. With an interest rate of only 2½% and a repayment period of 20 years, the credits are virtually a grant: payment of principal and interest would be in Indian rupees, which the Soviet Union would use to buy Indian goods. India was also offered a nuclear power plant, but Gandhi demurred, saying he required assurances on safeguards before accepting the offer.

Although not made public, a new Soviet military aid package to India was also rumoured to be generous. Indian Defence Minister Narasimha Rao preceded Gandhi to Moscow to clinch the deal, which reportedly includes a top Soviet fighter aircraft to match Pakistan's advanced American F-16A fighter. New Delhi asked for the exalted MiG-31, which even Moscow's Warsaw Pact allies don't have; the Soviets instead offered the sophisticated MiG-29. All Gandhi would say on the topic was that "the quality will be good... very high." ■

DINNER TOASTS

Gorbachev's Dinner Speech

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TASS report: "M.S. Gorbachev's Speech"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Prime Minister, Esteemed Mrs Gandhi, dear Indian friends, Comrades;

We are glad to welcome in Moscow the prime minister and the personages accompanying him who represent a country for which people in the Soviet Union have great respect. Meetings between Soviet and Indian leaders are invariably marked by warmth and cordiality and a high level of confidence and mutual understanding. They have a beneficial effect on the development of relations between our two countries, on the situation in Asia and the world as a whole.

Years and decades pass, generations of people in our countries come and go, but relations of friendship and cooperation between the USSR and India continue their progressive development. This is happening because these relations are built on the basis of equality and mutual respect and on the coincidence or similarity of the positions of the two countries on basic problems of our time.

Our cooperation with India, cooperation which has today so many dimensions, is free of any pressure, of imposition of any terms. The Soviet Union consistently supported India at all stages of its struggle for stronger independence and has displayed, and continues to display, effective solidarity with this great country, which is upholding its sovereignty, its dignity, and its right to an independent path of development.

In any sphere of cooperation with India, we, as friends, share with it the best we have. We feel great satisfaction with the fact that economic ties between the USSR and India helped solve major problems of its progress, key problems for each concrete historical period, be it the construction of the groundwork of a heavy industry or the development of a fuel-and-power complex.

Among our joint projects today are such projects which, when carried out, will undoubtedly make a worthy contribution to the development of India's economy and strengthen its defenses on the threshold of a new century.

The successful space flight by a joint Soviet-Indian crew also testifies to the great effectiveness and, I would say, great potentialities of our scientific and technical links. The breadth and variety of cultural exchanges between the two countries reflect the traditions of mutual interest of their people in each other's rich culture and their definite spiritual affinity.

However, the magnitude of what has already been achieved should not be allowed to overshadow the existing great opportunities for further advance. A desire for this was expressed by both sides during today's talks. We are in a good position to jointly raise our cooperation to a qualitatively new level in many areas.

A special place is held by the Soviet Union's and India's efforts, going in the same direction, to remove the threat of war and end the arms race. No one can ignore the fact that friendship and cooperation between our two countries are playing an ever more important and beneficial role in the entire system of international relations. By force of example, these relations help assert the principles of peaceful coexistence and work for stronger peace and security of all peoples. These aims are well served by our Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation.


All peoples strive for peace and progress and none of them wants war. However, there are forces which pursue other aims. They do not wish to reckon with the legitimate interests of others and the political realities of the present-day world. It is these forces, chasing the chimera of military superiority, that have brought the world to the threshold of a new spiral of the arms race, a spiral of unprecedented scale, which threatens to grow into a qualitatively new phase with uncontrollable processes. What, for instance, can be brought to the peoples by the notorious "star wars" program which they in Washington are trying, for purposes of camouflage, to pass off as a "defense initiative"? First of all, increased risks of nuclear war. And, certainly, a sharp reduction of chances for achieving an accord on disarmament matters. Enormous additional funds will be thrown into the furnace of the arms race, including the nuclear arms race. These funds could serve the interests of the peaceful development of mankind, specifically to help solve such pressing problems as eliminating poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy.

Therefore, the problem of preventing the militarization of space affects the interests of all countries and peoples and leaves no one by the wayside. We think that before it is too late and before an irreversible situation is created under the cover of soothing statements, all peace-loving states should raise their voice against this new danger.

One of the realities of the present-day world is the appearance in the world arena of dozens of states of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which strive to overcome the pernicious consequences of colonialism. The overwhelming majority of them follow a policy of nonalignment. The emergence of the Nonaligned Movement and the fact that it has become a major factor of world politics have occurred in the natural order of things in the present-day world. This patently reflects the striving of the newly independent peoples for cooperation with other states on an equal footing, for the recognition of their legitimate rights and interests by others, for the exclusion of any manifestations of domination and diktat and claims to hegemony from international life.

In short, the newly independent countries do not want to be any longer regarded as objects for profit-making and for installing military bases and strongpoints in their territories.

These countries can and must be understood. When they are being declared spheres of somebody's "vital interests," without even asking their opinion, there can be no question of their interests being taken into account. These interests are totally ignored.

There is no need to talk much of how dangerous conflicts in different regions of the world are under present conditions. Taking a deeper look into the matter, it is not hard to see that these conflicts stem, as a rule, from attempts by imperialist powers to interfere, in some form or other, in the affairs of newly independent countries and to subjugate them to their influence. Therein lie the primary causes of the appearance of many seats of tension in the world, and not in the notorious "rivalry of the superpowers" .

We think that such a step as the assumption by every permanent member of the UN Security Council of an obligation to strictly observe the principles of non-interference, non-use of force or threat of force in relations with the countries of these continents and not to draw them into military blocs would help remove seats of tension and promote the peaceful settlement of a number of conflicts in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Soviet Union is prepared to assume such an obligation. This fully accords with the principles of our foreign policy.

The concept of "detente" came into existence in Europe. It will soon be 10 years since the day when a historic document was signed in Helsinki, a document which summed up, as it were, what the peoples imply by this great, meaningful word. Much of what was built on this basis has been destroyed by the icy winds blowing from overseas. However, many things have stood out, survived, struck firm roots and are bringing tangible benefits to the peoples.

In Asia, the problems of peace and security are today no less and, in some areas, even more acute and painful than in Europe. It is understandable, therefore, that a number of new important and constructive initiatives on certain aspects of security of the Asian Continent and its individual regions have been put forward in recent years. Among the authors of these initiatives are socialist states and members of the Nonaligned Movement, among them the USSR and India. These proposals remain on the order of the day in international affairs. Thus the proposal for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace was supported by the UN General Assembly and the Nonaligned Movement, specifically by its recent conference in New Delhi. Nor can one underestimate the fact that both of the nuclear powers lying in the Asian Continent, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China, have pledged not to make first use of nuclear weapons.

Now the question arises: Is it not advisable, considering all these initiatives and, in some measure, Europe's experience, to think of a common, comprehensive approach to the problem of security in Asia and a possible pooling of efforts by Asian states in this direction? Of course, the way to this is a complicated one. However, the road to Helsinki was not smooth and even, either. Here different methods are evidently possible, - from bilateral talks and multilateral consultations to holding at some future point an all-Asian forum for an exchange of opinions and a joint search for constructive solutions.

One thing appears indisputable: The peoples of Asia are no less interested in ensuring peace and peaceful cooperation than the peoples of any other continent and can do much for achieving this aim.

We think that India, as a great power enjoying much prestige and respect both in Asian countries and throughout the world, can play a very important part in this process.

We highly appreciate India's contribution to the cause of strengthening peace and international security and to enhancing the role of the Nonaligned Movement in this respect.

The names of the great Indian leaders Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi will remain forever in the memory of the peoples, inseparably associated both with the history of India and the history of the national liberation struggle on all continents. They have blazed a political course, by following which India has achieved impressive successes in its internal development and in strengthening its international positions. They have done much for the rise and development of the Nonaligned Movement as an important positive factor in the present-day world.

One of the manifestations of the wide recognition of Indira Gandhi's outstanding contribution to the struggle for preserving and strengthening peace is the fact that she was posthumously awarded the International Lenin Prize for the promotion of peace among nations.

Soviet people will always gratefully remember Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi as firm and consistent supporters of close friendship and cooperation between our two countries and we highly appreciate, Mr Prime Minister, the intention you expressed to carry forward the cause of your famous predecessors.

I can assure you that the leadership of the Soviet Union intends to work actively toward further developing and deepening friendly Soviet-Indian relations. Peace-loving and independent India will always meet with understanding and support from the Soviet Union.

Let me propose a toast: To the health of the esteemed prime minister of the Republic of India, Rajiv Gandhi, Mrs. Gandhi, and all our Indian friends! To the successes and prosperity of the great people of India! To the further deepening of friendship and cooperation between our countries! To a lasting peace on earth!

Gandhi's Dinner Speech

PM221101 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 May 85 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report on speech delivered by Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at 21 May Kremlin dinner in his honor under general heading: "In a Friendly Atmosphere"]

[Text] R. Gandhi's Speech

General Secretary Gorbachev, Mrs Gorbacheva! Your Excellencies, esteemed Soviet friends!

It gives me pleasure and it is a great honor for me to be once again in this historic place and among true friends. My wife and I are extraordinarily grateful to you for your warm reception and generous hospitality. Each visit by a Soviet leader to India and by an Indian representative to the Soviet Union is one more step in the consolidation of the close friendship which exists between our two great peoples and which promotes peace. After all, peace is the bright star which shows the way for our two peoples, who have given so much to civilization. Both our countries want mankind to be assured of a bright future. We do not want people anywhere to be prey to fear and anxiety.

Every ideal requires faith, labor, and sacrifices. The world knows what tremendous sacrifices the Soviet people made when they were building their new state and later, when they defended their independence against the fascist invaders. You have just celebrated the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism. In 2 years you will celebrate the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. We in India are celebrating this year the centenary of the Indian National Congress, which led the struggle for our freedom. In historic battles, your people produced many heroes and heroines from their ranks. It was the same thing for us in India when we were struggling against imperialism with the weapon of nonviolent civil resistance. Our people endured immense hardships in the process of building a new India and strengthening our unity.

I was touched by your words about Mrs Indira Gandhi. She lived and worked for the benefit of the Indian people, but she also addressed the peoples of other countries. Her aim was to create an India that would realize its potential and play its part in building a better world. Millions of people loved her ardently, but some remained implacable. Here death serves as a reminder that the violence nurtured by hatred remains one of mankind's main enemies. Her death also stresses the threat presented to mankind by entrenched prejudices and an old way of thinking.

The Soviet people's loyalty to the cause of peace stems from their ideals and is also explained by the fact that no other people suffered so much from the war. We in India are also profoundly loyal to the cause of peace because all our hopes for a better life and linked with it. Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, and Indira Gandhi, we are making efforts to cast off the burden placed on our people's shoulders by centuries of feudalism and imperial rule. We are loyal to the cause of socialism and a just social system. Since it gained independence, India has achieved impressive successes in economic development. We have achieved full self-sufficiency in grain production and laid the foundations of a modern industrial society. We are proud of the work of our scientists and technical specialists in many progressive fields and modern spheres of application. We are on the threshold of a considerably more rapid all-around development.

The path of national development outlined for us by Jawaharlal Nehru and Indira Gandhi best accords with our social conditions. We will continue to march along the path of creating the potential for reliance on our own forces, assigning the state sector the key role in the process of development and being primarily concerned for the people's needs. We have embarked on the implementation of large-scale programs for the development and consolidation of agriculture, energy, transport, and communications, creating new jobs for the masses of our rural population and ensuring fuller opportunities for the use of our people's creative potential. In the vitally important field of the development of man and society we attach increasing attention to education and health.

This process is mainly being implemented by our people's efforts. However, our friends are helping us of course. We are deeply grateful for the substantial and principled support that the Soviet Union is rendering to our economic development. We are rapidly seeking to expand this cooperation. We are interested in the stable and long-term development of trade and economic relations with a consideration for the requirements, limitations, and potential of our two countries' economies. It is essential to create new spheres and mechanisms of cooperation. The opportunities for economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation are enormous. Soviet and Indian cosmonauts who have gone into space were the heralds of a new era in cooperation between our peoples.

Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union are an inalienable part of our foreign policy. Our people regard the Soviet people as their friends, who have always been with us at times of difficulty for us.

Fine relations have formed between India and the Soviet Union largely thanks to the vigorous efforts and far-sighted policy pursued by the two countries' leaders in the past 3 decades. I have come here to continue the tradition which was founded by Jawaharlal Nehru and in whose spirit subsequent Indian governments have acted, the tradition of the exchange of views and assessments so that our two countries can struggle together for the creation of a better world. The 1971 Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation reflects our profound mutual respect and serves the cause of peace. I had the honor to meet with you, Your Excellency, when you took up your eminent post at one of the most important stages of history. I well remember the moving words you spoke about India and about what great importance you personally attach to Indian-Soviet relations. Today we had a fruitful exchange of opinions. I await with impatience the continuation of our talk tomorrow. We hope that you will soon give us the opportunity to welcome you to India.

In our nuclear age, peace is the most sacred aspiration of all peoples of the world. At the same time, never before in history has the threat to peace been so great. This threat is generated by the very weapons which are created in the name of "security." Stockpiles of weapons are constantly growing. Hope is inspired by the fact that the world public is persistently expressing itself in favor of reducing and eliminating nuclear weapons. The onus in the matter of disarmament rests with the powers that possess nuclear weapons. But can other countries remain aloof? Nuclear war, like nothing else, puts everyone in the same position and brings death to all. Nuclear death does not ask for your passport. It cares not for nationality, just as it cares not for life itself. In nuclear war there can be no victors, just as there can be no impenetrable defense against nuclear weapons.

India and the other members of the nonaligned community are tirelessly urging all states to ban the use or the threat of the use of nuclear weapons, to halt all tests of weapons, to seek to conclude a treaty on an all-embracing ban on weapons tests, to freeze the production of nuclear weapons and fissionable materials for military purposes, and to prevent the testing, production, and deployment of chemical, biological, and space weapons. We made this appeal at the nonaligned countries' summit conference held in Delhi in 1983 under the chairmanship of Indira Gandhi. The heads of state and government of six states recently repeated this appeal in the Delhi Declaration.

We are glad that the Soviet Union responded immediately and positively to this appeal. We welcomed the various initiatives that you personally have put forward. We sincerely wish you success in your efforts. We welcome the resumption of disarmament talks between the USSR and the United States in Geneva and both states' declarations of their resolve to take matters to the complete abolition of nuclear weapons.

Universal peace and a tranquil regional situation are closely interconnected. Regional conflicts can grow into global ones with striking rapidity. We in India are seriously perturbed by the growing militarization of the situation in the regions adjacent to us and throughout the Indian Ocean basin. We oppose any acts of outside intervention and interference anywhere.

We have embarked on a discussion with our neighbors of questions of the consolidation of peace and cooperation in the region as a whole. We are seeking to ensure that the South Asian countries' regional cooperation organization helps to establish the best, mutually advantageous relations between the countries of our region.

We all cannot fail to be seriously perturbed by the tension existing in other regions.

The Palestinians are still deprived of their legitimate rights, South Africa is pursuing a gross policy of apartheid and aggression against the African peoples, the Namibians are deprived of their rights, attempts are being made to undermine the activity of governments in Latin America, and armed conflicts are continuing in Southeast and Southwest Asia.

None of us, in defending the interests of our peoples, can neglect his duty to mankind. The prism of geography may refract different colors on our peoples, but ultimately in this whole wide world [na etom belom svete] we are all a single family of people. And it is this community of people which Indian-Soviet friendship is called on to serve.

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, allow me to propose a toast: To the health and successes of His Excellency Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee! To the health of Mrs Raisa Gorbacheva! To the further prosperity and progress of the great Soviet people! To the strengthening friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and India! To peace throughout the world and man's salvation from fear!

Visits Lenin's Tomb

LD220715 Moscow TASS in English 0657 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS -- Today the head of the government of India, Rajiv Gandhi, visited V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. He honoured the memory of the founder of the Soviet state by a minute of silence. Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of the Republic of India has been staying in the USSR on an official friendly visit since Tuesday at the invitation of the Soviet leadership.

Rajiv Gandhi honoured the memory of the Soviet servicemen who had given their lives in the struggle against Hitlerite fascism, in the name of peace throughout the world. He laid a wreath at the Unknown Soldier's Tomb near the Kremlin Wall. Guriy Marchuk, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and other officials were together with the guest.

USSR-India Accords Signed

LD221137 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 22 May 85

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS -- Soviet-Indian documents were signed today in the Grand Kremlin Palace. Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi signed:

An agreement on basic guidelines for economic, trade, scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of India for the period to 2000 and an agreement on economic and technical cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of India.

Present at the signing were, on the Soviet side: Comrades Aliyev, Vorotnikov, Grishin, Gromyko, Ligachev, Ryzhkov, Solomentsev, Tikhonov, Chebrikov, Demichev, Dolgikh, Kuznetsov, Ponomarev, Sokolov, Zimyanin, Kapitonov, Nikonov, Rusakov, Arkhipov, Marchuk, leaders of several ministries and departments, and other officials; on the Indian side: Singh, minister of finance; Parthasarathy, chairman of the Policy Planning Committee of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs; Nehru, minister of state for power; Singh and Fernandes, prime minister's secretaries for parliamentary affairs; and other Indian state officials.

INDO-SOVIET JOINT STATEMENT

Joint Statement Issued

PM271240 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 May 85 First Edition pp 1, 4

["Joint Soviet-Indian Statement" -- PRAVDA headline]

[Text] Prime Minister of the Republic of India Rajiv Gandhi paid an official friendly visit to the Soviet Union 21 through 26 May 1985 at the Soviet leadership's invitation. A cordial reception reflecting the relations of traditional friendship and mutual respect between the USSR and India was extended to the distinguished Indian guest and the persons accompanying him. Talks were held between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in which the following participated: On the Soviet side: N.A. Tikhonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; A.A. Gromyko, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and USSR foreign minister; Marshal of the Soviet Union S.I. Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister; I.V. Arkhipov, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; and V.N. Rykov, USSR ambassador to India. On the Indian side: Finance Minister V.P. Singh; G. Parthasarathi, chairman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs Political Planning Committee; S.N. Hasan, India's ambassador to the USSR; A. Nehru, minister of state for energy; A. Singh, secretary to the prime minister for parliamentary affairs; and O. Fernandez, secretary to the prime minister for parliamentary affairs.

Prime Minister of the Republic of India Rajiv Gandhi also had a separate conversation with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which was held in a warm, friendly atmosphere.

During visits to Moscow, Minsk, and Frunze, the guests acquainted themselves with various aspects of the Soviet people's life and their achievements in the economic, scientific, and cultural spheres.

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The meetings and conversations were held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. Deep satisfaction at the successful development of the relations of close friendship and multifaceted cooperation between the Soviet Union and India was expressed on both sides.

These relations are characterized by respect and trust between the two countries' peoples and leaders. They are marked by stability in the political sphere and by the scale and diversity of forms of mutually advantageous cooperation in the trade and economic, scientific and technical, cultural, and other spheres. Their steady growth is an important achievement of both countries. The sides believe that the relations between the USSR and India demonstrate the fruitfulness of links between states with different socioeconomic systems if they are committed to the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality and mutual respect, and strict observance of sovereignty and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. The friendship and cooperation between the USSR and India are a factor of peace and stability in Asia and throughout the world.

The Soviet Union and India are united in the view that the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation between the USSR and India promotes the development of the traditional friendship between the two countries and fully reflects their commitment to world peace and the relaxation of tension.

Both sides highly assess Soviet-Indian economic, trade, and scientific and technical cooperation, which is developing dynamically on a planned basis and is constantly enriched with new forms and content. The sides note with satisfaction the considerable expansion of the economic cooperation between them and express the confidence that the Agreement on the Basic Guidelines for Economic, Trade, and Scientific and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and India for the Period Through the Year 2000 and the agreement on Soviet-Indian cooperation in the construction of a number of major new projects in India, which were signed 22 May in Moscow, will help further expand and deepen the economic links between the two countries.

The sides expressed satisfaction at the high rate of growth in trade between the two countries and reaffirmed their determination to maintain that rate in the future. At the same time, mutual interest was expressed in seeking ways of further increasing the effectiveness of bilateral trade by expanding and diversifying deliveries as well as by introducing new forms of cooperation in accordance with the principles of the aforementioned agreement on basic guidelines.

Both sides note the growing cooperation between them in the sphere of science and technology. The results of joint activity in this sphere promote scientific and technical progress in both countries and help in resolving their national economic tasks. The successful joint Soviet-Indian spaceflight in April 1984 is a vivid demonstration of the fruitfulness of this cooperation. Both sides note the great importance of further developing cooperation in the sphere of science and technology and of improving its effectiveness.

The sides positively assess the activity of the intergovernmental Soviet-Indian Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation, particularly the results of the recent ninth session of the commission in Moscow, which determined specific directions for the development of cooperation in various spheres in the immediate future. The sides expressed readiness to continue to develop and strengthen the cooperation between them in the spheres of culture, science, public health, education, the mass media, tourism, and sport. The Indian side highly assessed the Soviet Union's weighty contribution to strengthening India's economic potential and accelerating its scientific and technical progress. The Soviet side reaffirmed its readiness to continue to assist India in consolidating its independence in the economic sphere and in other important spheres.

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The sides exchanged opinions on a wide range of international problems of mutual interest and reaffirmed the coincidence or closeness of the two countries' positions on the main questions of our time. Both sides are worried by the growing tension in the international situation. The intensifying arms race, especially the race in nuclear and other types of mass-destruction weapons, the growth in the danger that this race will spread to outer space, and the exacerbation of crises in various parts of the world demand resolute and persistent efforts by states, irrespective of their social system, in the interests of strengthening international peace and security, removing the threat of war, abandoning the policy of confrontation, and pursuing a policy of talks. Only such efforts can contribute to achieving the relaxation of tension, resolving the existing problems and disputed issues, eliminating the existing hotbeds of tension and conflicts, and preventing new ones from arising. The sides are convinced that all states, large and small, must play their role in the quest for realistic decisions that would halt and reverse the arms race and lessen tension in the world.

The Soviet Union and India are firmly convinced that the prevention of nuclear war is today a question of paramount importance. They regard the following as the most vital tasks: immediately ending the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, and preventing it from spreading to outer space, and persistently pursuing a policy aimed at completely destroying and prohibiting nuclear weapons in order to remove forever the threat of nuclear war. In the light of the initiatives put forward by both sides, they reaffirmed their readiness to cooperate fully with one another and with all other states in achieving these objectives.

Both sides regard as important in this sphere the Delhi Declaration adopted in January of this year by the heads of state and government of Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania, and Sweden, which again called for an all-embracing end to the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons and delivery systems, for the prevention of an arms race in outer space, and for the conclusion of a treaty on the all-embracing prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. In this connection, they noted that the proposals put forward by the Soviet Union regarding the prevention of the militarization of space, the ending of the nuclear arms race, and ultimately, the total elimination of nuclear weapons, are aimed at achieving objectives consonant with those set out in the Delhi Declaration.

The Soviet Union and India attach great importance to the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva on the complex of questions of space and nuclear arms, strategic and medium-range, which must be examined and resolved as an interconnected whole. The sides are convinced that these talks, given a constructive and realistic approach by both sides participating in them in accordance with the accord that was reached, may lead to far-reaching decisions in the interests of peace and the security of all peoples.

Both sides stressed the special responsibility borne by the states possessing nuclear weapons with regard to taking urgent measures aimed at general and complete disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament. They reaffirmed their commitment to this aim and called for immediate practical steps aimed at stopping and reversing the arms race. In this connection, the Soviet side supported India's proposal calling for talks on formulating a convention prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons to which all the nuclear powers would be party. The Indian side welcomed the Soviet Union's statement on not being the first to use nuclear weapons. Both sides believe that the adoption of such a pledge by all nuclear states would be an important step in the direction of totally prohibiting the use of nuclear weapons or the threat of their use.

The sides stress the importance of an appropriately monitored freeze on nuclear arms on a global scale from a certain date. This must be followed by substantial reductions in nuclear arsenals. They spoke out in support of the immediate suspension of all nuclear weapon tests and the speediest conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. They call for the immediate prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons and for a prohibition on the development and production of new types of mass-destruction weapons. They also emphasize the urgent need to transfer the funds now spent on military purposes to the needs of socioeconomic development. Some of the funds that would be released in the disarmament process must be used to aid the developing countries.

The sides reaffirm the importance of developing peaceful mutually advantageous cooperation between countries on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect, and noninterference in internal affairs, whether on a bilateral, regional or global scale. The sides oppose any infringement of the sovereign rights of all states and peoples to independent and peaceful development as they see fit and any manifestations of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, domination, and hegemonism. They firmly uphold the principles of peaceful coexistence and equal cooperation between states and of the resolution of disputed issues and settlement of conflicts between states by means of talks, without the use of force or the threat of force.

The Soviet Union and India believe that the observance of these principles by all countries, and above all the ending of military and any other external interference in sovereign states' affairs, the showing of restraint, and the removal of foreign military presences, especially the elimination of foreign military bases, represent an important precondition for the strengthening of peace and stability in Asia and other parts of the world.

The sides express concern at the preservation of tension in the Near East as a result of Israel's aggressive expansionist policy. They condemn the continuing Israeli occupation of Arab territories. They also condemn Israel's invasion of Lebanon and its actions and measures against the civilian population in that country. They call for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. Both sides stressed the urgent need to reach an all-embracing, just, and lasting Near East settlement on the basis of the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied Arab territories; to the exercise by the Palestinian people, whose sole legitimate representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization, of their legitimate, inalienable national rights, including the right to create their own state, and also the ensuring of the right of all states of the region to secure and independent development. Both sides stress that the way to such a settlement is via collective efforts and the participation of all interested sides, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, on an equal basis. They resolutely support the convening of an international peace conference on the Near East under UN auspices.

The sides express regret and concern at the continuation of the war between Iran and Iraq and call for an immediate end to this war and for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. The Soviet Union supports India's efforts as chairman of the Nonaligned Movement directed toward seeking mutually acceptable measures to reach a just and lasting settlement of this conflict by means of talks.

Both sides express serious concern at the preservation of hotbeds of tension in southwest Asia and reaffirm their conviction that the problems of that region demand peaceful political solutions within full respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and nonaligned status of the countries there.

They call on these countries to end armed conflicts as speedily as possible, to show restraint, and to cooperate constructively in the name of lessening tension and restoring peace. The Soviet Union and India again oppose all forms of external interference in the internal affairs of the region's countries. They are convinced that only a political solution by means of talks can guarantee a lasting settlement of the problems that exist there.

The sides are worried by the tension that still persists in Southeast Asia. They consider that the solution of Southeast Asia's problems is a matter for the region's states themselves, on the basis of complete respect for the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of all states in the region without outside interference in their internal affairs. They support the desire of the states situated there to normalize the situation in the region and transform it into a region of lasting peace, stability, good-neighborliness, and cooperation. They expressed the hope that this would also lead to the elimination of interference and the threat of intervention by foreign forces..

The Soviet Union and India express concern over the further complication of the situation in the Indian Ocean and, in this connection, call for the liquidation of all foreign military bases existing in the aforementioned region and the prevention of the establishment of new ones. They also take a stand against any attempts to build up a foreign military presence in the Indian Ocean. The sides are in favor of the earliest possible implementation of the UN Declaration on the Transformation of the Indian Ocean Into a Zone of Peace, and support the UN General Assembly resolution on the urgent convening of a conference on the Indian Ocean for this purpose. The Soviet Union firmly supports the desire of India and other nonaligned countries to attain this goal. The sides deem it necessary to complete the preparation for the conference in 1985 with a view to it being held, as resolved by the 39th UN General Assembly Session, no later than in the first half of 1986. They confirm their support for the just demand by the State of Mauritius for the restoration of its sovereignty over the Chagos Archipelago, including Diego Garcia Island.

The sides condemn the policy of apartheid implemented by South Africa and demand the cessation of its illegal occupation of Namibia and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from its territory. They call for the total and immediate implementation of all UN resolutions on the granting of independence to Namibia, including Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). They condemn South Africa's recent decision to install an illegal "provisional administration" in Windhoek. They confirm their support for the South-West African People's Organization as the sole and true representative of the Namibian people. The Soviet Union and India also insist that South Africa cease acts of aggression and subversive activity against its neighbors, and demand that South Africa strictly respect the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of its neighboring states.

The Soviet Union and India advocate a just political settlement of the situation in Central America and the Caribbean, particularly around Nicaragua, on the basis of strict respect for the peoples' right to freely choose the path of their development without interference in their internal affairs. They call for the cessation of all forms of pressure and acts of aggression against independent nonaligned states situated there. The sides support those countries' constructive initiatives and the Contadora Group's efforts aimed at a settlement of the situation in the region.

The sides advocate the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis and the establishment of a new world economic order. The solution of this urgent task would accord with the interests of all mankind. They condemn any manifestations of the policy of neocolonialism, discrimination, and pressure tactics in interstate economic intercourse.

Both sides advocate the securing of fair and equivalent prices for commodities exported by developing countries and the elimination of artificial trade barriers.

The Soviet Union and India note with satisfaction the growing positive role of the movement of nonaligned countries in the struggle for peace and the prevention of nuclear catastrophe, for disarmament and the easing of international tension, against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid, and also against all forms of aggression, interference, domination, and hegemonism in the political and economic spheres, and for the establishment of a new international economic order.

The Soviet Union highly assesses India's constructive contribution to the common efforts to ensure peace and security, the development of equal cooperation between states, and the strengthening of the Nonaligned Movement's unity and the enhancement of its international influence.

The sides note the historic significance of the 40th anniversary of the great victory over the forces of fascism and militarism, and call for this jubilee to be fittingly marked by steps toward ending the arms race, eliminating the threat of war, and improving the international situation.

The sides affirmed their consistent commitment to the United Nations, the cause of maintaining and strengthening this organization as an effective instrument of peace, and the goals and principles enshrined in its charter. They believe that the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the United Nations and the holding of the International Year of Peace can and must serve as an additional stimulus for mobilizing the efforts by peoples and governments of the organization's member-states aimed at eliminating the threat of nuclear war and strengthening international peace and security, and also at the establishment of equitable economic relations between states and the implementation of its objectives in the social and humanitarian spheres. The sides are prepared to take the necessary steps to ensure that the fair and democratic principles on which the United Nations was founded 40 years ago become firmly established in the practice of international relations. They also noted the historic importance of the UN Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted 25 years ago, and confirmed their intention to struggle for the total eradication of colonialism.

III

The Soviet Union and India attach great importance to regular contacts between their leaders and perceive them to be an important means of strengthening the relations of friendship, mutual understanding, and trust between the two countries. The sides note that Soviet-Indian dialogue at the summit level effectively contributes to the development of the relations of close friendship between the USSR and India and enhances the effectiveness of both countries' efforts in the preservation and strengthening of peace and security. The sides advocate the continuation and expansion of the practice of regular consultations at the appropriate levels on questions of bilateral relations and current international problems of mutual interest.

The sides expressed profound satisfaction with the results of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's official friendly visit to the Soviet Union. The visit has strengthened even further the mutual trust between the leaders and the bonds of close friendship between the peoples of both countries. The sides are convinced that this visit will prove to be an important step along the path of further developing the relations of traditional friendship and multifaceted cooperation between the USSR and India.

INDIAN EDITORIAL COMMENTS

The Indo-Soviet summit

By I. K. Gujral

MR Rajiv Gandhi has opened his summity innings well. The Soviet visit has reaffirmed Moscow and Delhi's mutual faith in further strengthening beneficial friendship and cooperation. The new and youthful leaders of the two countries also struck a note of personal warmth and cordiality in each other's mind.

The joint statement issued has identified major areas of world tension and asserted, once again, that it is "outside interference" in our region that is responsible for many an ill that confronts us today. Mr Gorbachev, in his banquet speech, objected to the faulty concept and formulation of "rivalry of the super powers."

In 1978, Ambassador Mandelovich—who was in charge of Soviet-US negotiations on demilitarisation of the Indian Ocean, had called me to register the Soviet objection to this formulation. He was forthright in describing this as "imperialist phraseology" and said it hurt them when their Indian friends officially and in the media used it: "... It tends to equate us, while we are in Indian Ocean waters to defend our own soils. It is not the same thing as American bases being kept there with an offensive posture."

In subsequent speeches, beginning with the Foreign Minister, Mr Shyam Nandan Misra's address to the non-aligned meet in Cuba, the jargon was changed. Now it was described as the "big power presence."

For the first time in the recent history of Indo-Soviet summits, the Soviet leadership has mentioned China in friendly terms. Our diplomats would have understood that in doing this Mr Gorbachev was conveying a message that the process of Sino-Soviet negotiations had now reached a stage when Moscow no more considers China a "warmonger." It visualises that very soon a stage will be reached when both will, in company, work for construction of an Asian detente.

SUSPICIONS

During Mrs Gandhi and Mr Morarji Desai's state visits, in 1976 and 1977, the Soviets forthrightly expressed their doubts and suspicions regarding our efforts to normalise relations with China. I made continuous efforts to convince Moscow that Mr Vajpayee's visit to Beijing in 1979 would not in any way dilute our relations with the USSR. But Kosygin continued to caution us regarding Chinese intentions.

In this background it would be a folly to dismiss or ignore the suggestions made regarding Asian security. As a perception it is different from the one that Brezhnev presented to Mrs Gandhi in 1973 and, again in 1976. The Sino-Soviet relations had then reached their nadir and we were justified in perceiving that it may ultimately end in formation of an anti-China bloc.

Mr Gorbachev is now talking of

Asian security in the frame of the Helsinki agreement that would be all-inclusive. He said, "... nor can one underestimate the fact that both of the nuclear powers lying in the Asian continent — the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China — have pledged not to make first use of nuclear weapons."

One assumes, he is not excluding the US from this frame either. It is not an Asian power, but it was not a European power either when it signed the Helsinki treaty. The Asian reality is such that it would be difficult to woo the ASEAN powers and many Arab rulers without bringing in Washington. It is a very onerous task, but Mr Gorbachev was correct in saying, "... of course the way to this is complicated. But the road to Helsinki was not smooth and even either."

TREATY

As a matter of fact Mr Gorbachev has gone a step further in telling the littoral countries that resolutions favouring making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace may never be accomplished except through an overall and comprehensive treaty of this type. He has asked, "... Now the question arises: is it not advisable, considering all these initiatives and, in some measure, Europe's experience, to think of a common, comprehensive approach to the problem of security in Asia and pooling of efforts by the Asian states in this direction?"

He wants India to play a catalyst role in bringing this about and has even suggested a methodology when he says, "... here different methods are evidently possible — bilateral talks and multilateral consultations — up to holding at some time in the future an all-Asian forum for exchange of opinions and joint search for constructive solutions."

Apart from making a rather comprehensive presentation of the concept, he has also notified India that the prospects of friendly relations growing between the Soviet Union and China are bright. Of course he has taken pains to assure us that India occupies an autonomous position in Soviet foreign policy. In saying this he is both candid and correct. All the same, every readjustment between two mighty powers will affect others and we should proceed to examine its fall-out on South Asia particularly and on the rest of Asia generally. In this context too the suggested path to comprehensive Asian security acquires importance.

The talks and the two agreements have further reinforced the very worthwhile Indo-Soviet economic relationship. The handsome credit offered by the Soviets will be useful, particularly in the sphere of energy. Its purposeful utilisation however will depend a great deal on the availability of internal resources.

Unfortunately, for more than a decade now, we have been picking up painless options, thus damaging prog-

rammes of self-reliance. At a very early stage of my mission in Moscow I was asked, both by the Congress and Janata regimes, to persuade the Kremlin to provide international resources for the Vizag Steel Plant. Mr Arkhipov, the First Deputy Prime Minister, who is always helpful, told me that even to the socialist countries they had never provided internal resources. "It is not in your interest, my friend," he had said.

Later when I approached him to construct the Vizag plant on a turnkey basis, he was hesitant. His point was valid, "On the one side the Ranchi Heavy Engineering Plant has a near blank order book and, on the other, you want to import what it can manufacture." He understood that our purpose was again to seek resources by indirect methods. It is time that our planners worked out methods for cycling national savings into productive channels. Kosygin had once asked a visiting Indian Minister, "You claim that your national savings are about 23 to 24 per cent but investments do not go beyond 7 to 8 per cent. Where does the rest go?"

"Third country cooperation" has once again been highlighted in the agreements. In cooperation with Soviet industry, we have demonstrated our skills and capacities in manufacturing steel and aluminium plants for many developing countries, including Yugoslavia. But there was a snag that halted progress. We were unable to offer substantial credits to countries of the South. The Soviets also found it difficult to accommodate us on a continuing basis. Our economists and planners will have to find some way to cross this hurdle if we mean to resurrect this concept.

PERTINENT

The most pertinent point in Indo-Soviet trade — which has been rising impressively at the rate of 18 per cent compound every year — is what to buy from the Soviets. Presently 60 per cent of our imports comprise oil, fertiliser, newsprint and sulphur. Soon we may be in a position to procure coking coal also from the Japanese-financed mines in Siberia. But it is not a very satisfactory arrangement for the Soviet Union.

Unfortunately, our policy makers and industrial elite have swallowed Western propaganda regarding the status of Soviet technology. It is an academic and abstract discussion so far as we are concerned. Policy decisions should be made on a selective basis. While for updating the metallurgy and power generator manufacturing sectors we may need the latest technology of the West, in several other spheres the Soviets can assist us.

The trade surpluses, available consumer credits and attractive prices should induce us to work out a comprehensive policy for import of machines that we need for hastening the pace of industrialisation. The prevailing environment regarding "entry

into the 21st century" should not make us vulnerable to the machinations of the multinationals. The Soviet connection is a useful safety valve.

An interesting repetition is the offer of a nuclear power plant. Kosygin, during his visit to Delhi in 1979, had made this to Mr Desai for the first time. In 1982, again, Mrs Gandhi received this proposal. Our energy experts and planners have been averse to it, though in its initial form it had an interesting dimension. The USSR and other Comecon countries had planned a joint nuclear energy programme. Kosygin felt that India too could take a share in the supply of cables and making some items at Ranchi, reaping the advantages of mass production.

SAFEGUARDS

The Prime Minister has said, there are some difficulties regarding safeguards. The Soviet Union, as a member of the London Club, has firmly adhered to the restrictions imposed by it. During my time, we acquired heavy water from the Soviet Union under the safeguard clauses of the Vienna Conventions. Mr Kuzenstov, who was at that time the First Deputy Foreign Minister, expressed his inability even to change the language and punctuation of the draft. He wanted us to sort it out at Vienna. Under the circumstances it may be more practical to pursue our own indigenous programme based on our own technology.

Though Mr Gorbachev, in his banquet speech rightly lauded Jawaharlal Nehru and Mrs Gandhi "... as firm and consistent supporters of close friendship and cooperation between the two countries," Mr Gandhi did well in emphasising continuity by saying, "I am here to continue the traditions set for us by Jawaharlal Nehru and practised by successive Governments in India..." Sometimes journalists and Sovietologists skip the important contributions made by Shastri and Mr Desai. Lal Bahadur Shastri negotiated the treaty of peace with Pakistan under Soviet auspices at Tashkent thus bringing into focus the role and place of the USSR in Asian politics. The Janata regime sustained and strengthened Indo-Soviet cooperation in all spheres, including security, economic and technology.

As per protocol, the Soviets lodge only heads of state in the ornate guest wing of the Kremlin. In 1976, a departure was made when Mrs Gandhi and her family were put up there. Mr Desai, during his two state visits received the same courtesy. Mr Gandhi and Mrs Sonia Gandhi were given an additional honour when, refreshingly Mr Gorbachev inducted his sophisticated wife, Mrs Raisa Gorbacheva, into all state functions. She personally took Mrs Sonia Gandhi to the art galleries and the historic cities of Valadmir and Suzdal where the Russian state was born.

Chance for Indian diplomacy

By Hari Jaisingh

INDIAN diplomacy, for a change, has more flexibility and more room for manoeuvre today as Mr Rajiv Gandhi's Government is being simultaneously wooed by both the super powers. While the Soviet Union is keen to retain the special relationship with this country as is evident from Mr Gandhi's just-concluded Soviet visit, the US wants to bring India closer to the Western camp. Washington feels encouraged in its new geopolitical perceptions of India not only because of the new computer technology mood prevailing in New Delhi but also because of the new leadership's sober approach to world affairs.

There are enough indications emanating from Washington to suggest that the Reagan Administration is prepared to review its India policy. Whether it will fully respond to Indian sensitivities in certain vital areas of interest is not yet clear. Generally speaking New Delhi invariably gets stuck in Washington's bureaucratic logjam and America's India policy has largely been an afterthought.

In sharp contrast to the half-hearted American gestures so far, the Russians have been extra courteous and warm to Indian leaders and this warmth was very much in evidence during Mr Gandhi's stay in Moscow. Brezhnev used to throw aside protocol norms personally to receive Indira Gandhi whenever she visited Moscow. India, for that matter, has had priority in the Soviet scheme of things, especially after the Sino-Soviet rift came into the open.

FRIENDSHIP

This is not to suggest that Indo-Soviet friendship is based on negative factors. Far from it. Over a period the relationship between the two countries has acquired a definite political and economic thrust. So much so the feeling has gained ground that the Soviet Union can be depended on in times of crisis and that the Soviet leadership is more responsive to Indian sensitivities than the Western countries.

This feeling has grown right from the days of the Soviet vetoes in the Security Council on Kashmir. Economic assistance for the Bhilai Steel Plant was another example of the Soviet response. The latest economic package and the credit for oil exploration, etc. signed during Mr Rajiv Gandhi's visit are part of the Soviet style of saying "we care", notwithstanding some loopholes in the actual economics of these gestures.

In the military field Indian dependence on the Soviet Union has been formidable. There have been certain advantages in India's military relationship with the Soviet Union which the Western countries do not provide. At the same time, overdependence on Soviet military hardware has been a matter of concern in certain quarters which has often prompted India to explore alternative sources of arms supply.

What is the ratio of Soviet and Western arms flows to this country and how they have got integrated in the Indian self-reliance goal are separate issues which are beyond the scope of the present article.

Though outside the Eastern Bloc, New Delhi has been accorded favoured treatment in the supply of sophisticated weapons. It must be said to the credit of Indian leaders that they have not compromised the country's basic national interests. Take, for example, Brezhnev's famous Asian Security Proposal, which has now been revived with considerable modifications by the new Soviet leader, Mr Gorbachev.

LUKEWARM

The Brezhnev proposal never got off the ground simply because India was lukewarm to it. It was then felt that the whole concept was directed against China as part of a Soviet encirclement plan. Mr Gorbachev's proposal does not seem to suffer from these inhibitions, though he has been rather hasty in announcing it publicly.

As far as principles go, Mr Gorbachev's proposal seems well in order though India had to tread cautiously because of the existing complexities in the Asian situation. No wonder, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's response to the loaded query by a correspondent at the Moscow press conference was both vague and evasive. Probably the Soviet leadership does not expect an instant Indian response to its Asian Security Proposal. Much will depend on how the idea crystallises in its new form.

India will also have to review its global and strategic perspectives. True, the relationship with Moscow has been to mutual advantage, though there have been some embarrassing moments for the Indian authorities. The first such occasion was provided during the Hungarian uprising in 1956 when Jawaharlal Nehru was at the helm. Another ticklish situation relates to Afghanistan which happens to be a major American concern today.

India is caught on the horns of a dilemma on the Afghan issue. It can

neither openly support the continued Soviet presence in Kabul nor can it publicly decry Moscow for staying put in Kabul.

At the Moscow press conference Mr Rajiv Gandhi handled the Afghanistan question rather tactfully. But he would be expected to be more specific and forthright when he visits the US and France next month. Western correspondents will surely be more probing regarding certain sensitive faces of Indian foreign policy. How Mr Gandhi handles matters in the West will be watched with more than marginal interest.

Of course, the Prime Minister has been bold enough to declare that "we do not compromise our position in return for anything." But diplomatic realities are rather harsh and this Mr Rajiv Gandhi will discover as he starts exploring the complexities of international relations, particularly when it comes to vital interests of one super power or the other.

It needs to be acknowledged that Mr Rajiv Gandhi is approaching world affairs with an open mind. He is keen to modernise the economy and opt for sophisticated Western technology on merit. For the import of high technology must be viewed in this context. It so happens that this move has already aroused certain misgivings. There is also speculation about possible shifts in Indian foreign policy postures. A sudden U-turn in policy is neither practical nor desirable. This did not happen even during the Janata regime.

MISGIVINGS

Even otherwise, misgivings on this count are uncalled for since the Soviets themselves are craving for American know-how and have allowed the same multinationals to operate on their soil. Even in China, Western technology is the latest fad. This shows how a new era of pragmatism is catching on not only among the non-aligned nations like India but also in the Communist and Socialist world. President Mitterrand of France too has embraced this pragmatic approach to economic issues, which is a far cry from his earlier Socialist slant.

The point is that the economic pragmatism visible under the youthful Indian Prime Minister should not be taken as a departure from traditional policy moorings. These are prompted by the desire to speed up the development tempo. However, sooner or later the country's economic diploma-

cy will have to be harmonised with other foreign policy postures.

A lot will depend on the outcome of the Prime Minister's US visit next month. There are some major irritants in Indo-American relations. It is not certain whether President Reagan is prepared fully to readjust American priorities in Asia. The main problem is the supply of weapons to Pakistan and Washington's attitude to Islamabad's nuclear bomb programme.

Keeping in view the American position on Afghanistan, it is doubtful if Washington would put pressure on Islamabad beyond a certain point. The Americans have their own geopolitical compulsions as well as economic interests, but once they accept the supremacy of India in the region and effectively curb the activities of Punjab extremists in the US it will help generate a new era of cooperation and understanding between the two countries.

OLD HABITS

The FBI's role in unearthing the plot to kill the Prime Minister has already been widely appreciated. The goodwill generated can be consolidated, provided the US Administration does not go back to its old habits and become insensitive to vital Indian interests.

Interestingly, during the next few months India is set to have the maximum exposure abroad through festivals in France and the US. This is the biggest cultural offensive launched by this country since the India festival in the UK some time ago. Unfortunately, this image boosting exercise comes at a time when there are serious problems back home. The activities of the extremists make for bad publicity, though terrorism is not a typically Indian phenomenon.

It is regrettable that national efforts have to be diverted to tackling negative forces out to destroy the democratic polity and undermine the country's territorial integrity and unity. Looking at the goodwill existing in the two super power camps, India should be in a position to overcome the current crisis. The new understanding shown by Moscow and Washington needs to be viewed in this light.

Of course, the nation's image abroad has to reflect realities at home. We cannot be what we are not in reality. All the same, to underrate our opportunities is as dangerous as to overrate our capacity. It is for Indian diplomacy to make the best of the available opportunity.

'ASIAN SECURITY'

MR Rajiv Gandhi's talks with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev appear to have been an unqualified success. The summit has not only confirmed but further developed the many-dimensional, close and warm relations between the two countries. In the economic and technical fields, the two leaders formally signed two major long-range agreements: one envisages a Soviet credit of about Rs. 1,100 crore to finance Soviet goods and services for Indian projects in the power, oil, coal, ferrous metals and machine building sectors; the other accord set out basic guidelines for economic, trade, scientific and technical cooperation until the turn of the century. These agreements, worked out earlier by officials of the two countries, are designed to give a major push to industrial and infrastructural development during the next three five year plans.

On the political level, the talks reaffirmed common perceptions in regard to several matters. Mr Gorbachev reiterated Soviet support for and appreciation of India's efforts towards disarmament and peace, both in its individual capacity and as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. Mr Gandhi in turn welcomed Soviet initiatives in seeking de-escalation of the nuclear arms race and super power detente. Global issues apart, the two leaders exchanged views on various bilateral and regional conflicts. On Afghanistan and India-Pakistan relations, the two sides generally reiterated their positions and perceptions. Whether they also reached any new understanding on these and other issues may or may not be revealed in the expected joint communique later this week. But the fact that the two leaders had extensive private meetings, lasting beyond the originally scheduled time-table, would seem to underline more than casual exchanges. Mr Gorbachev clearly has new ideas and Mr Gandhi will have something to communicate of this when he visits Washington, Paris and other capitals in the weeks ahead.

Most notably Mr Gorbachev expounded an idea which is bound to attract considerable international interest: a concept of Asian security linked to a global code of non-interference by the super and other major powers in the affairs generally of Third World countries and particularly in Asian affairs. This may seem, but is not, the same thing as the abortive Brezhnev Plan for collective Asian security. Unlike that proposal, this one has no suggestion whatever of the Soviets underwriting the proposed security framework. It would appear to be an extension of non-alignment and of the concept of a zone of peace from the Indian Ocean to the Asian mainland. Mr Gorbachev referred to the Helsinki Declaration and asked, "Is it not advisable, considering ... Europe's experience, to think of a

common, comprehensive approach to the problem of security in Asia and a possible pooling of efforts by Asian states in this direction?" The idea clearly is to let Asian nations settle their bilateral or multilateral problems without the dubious aid or intervention of outside countries, especially the super powers.

This may seem easier said than done but then "the road to Helsinki was not smooth either." The way Mr Gorbachev visualises the idea, a beginning could be made by holding bilateral talks or multilateral consultations to discuss and resolve bilateral or multilateral problems. These would include the Iran-Iraq War, the West Asian conflict, the Kampuchean imbroglio, Indo-Pakistan relations, and of course Afghanistan. At some point in future, such efforts could lead to "an all-Asian forum for an exchange of opinions and a joint search for constructive solutions." The thrust of the proposal is to settle regional problems at the regional level by the countries of the region themselves, rather than let such problems provide the magnet for super power intervention and manipulation. Viewed thus, it is certainly an idea worth examining and pursuing. Indeed, if Asian nations decide to solve their own conflicts, half their problems are likely to vanish.

MOSCOW'S ECONOMIC OFFER

VIEWED in the long-term perspective of Indo-Soviet economic relations of nearly three decades which saw innovations like the rupee payment agreements, concessional credits for supply of machinery and equipment repayable through exports and special agreements for Soviet supply of petroleum products—the two agreements reached in Moscow for a large rouble credit to India and for evolving a framework of bilateral co-operation may not appear to be striking departures. They are, however, significant as marking the renewal of the existing relationship in spite of changes in international economic trends and an affirmation of desire to explore new ways of strengthening old ties. After Mrs. Gandhi's last visit to Moscow in the final days of President Brezhnev, during which offers of a complete nuclear power station and further assistance on the Visakhapatnam and other steel plants were discussed, there has been a relatively subdued phase of co-operation between the two countries. India's capacity to export a variety of manufactures and commodities to the Soviet Union has not been fully stretched because of this country's inability to plan for matching imports to balance the trade over the medium period. If India now succeeds in making use of the large rouble credit for buying machinery and equipment for the projects envisaged repayment of the credits can provide opportunities for expansion of exports of Indian goods at a time when protectionism makes Western markets inaccessible.

Until last year, about Rs 757 crores of Soviet credits remained unused and some efforts have been made since to step up the rate of utilization. It may well be that the availability of the IMF line of credit since 1981, the liberalized import policy and the emphasis on the latest technology of the West (which even the East European countries have been eager to import) have all contributed to the low levels of imports from Russia. On the latest offer of a nuclear power plant, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has said that the technology is quite acceptable but the hitch may be in the safeguards. Oil exploration is an area in which Soviet co-operation will be particularly valuable in the on-shore fields. Coal mining, the Bihar power plant, machine building and metallurgical industries are all areas which have provided scope for fruitful Indo-Soviet collaboration in the past. A review of the reasons for the failure to quicken the pace of collaboration in these areas can indicate the means of overcoming difficulties in effective use of the credits now offered. These can be utilized for the Seventh Plan projects at a time when both domestic resources and Western aid fall far short of needs.

It is unwise to assume that the new leadership in both countries will feel constrained by the more conservative approaches of their Governments in the past to the problems of economic co-operation. It is possible to improvise solutions and innovate. The world debt situation, the impediments to expansion of world trade and the failure of Western initiatives on world monetary reform all require that those affected by them should find alternative ways of protecting their interests in these matters and adopt dynamic and liberal policies. It remains to be seen whether the second economic agreement signed in Moscow envisaging a long-term framework of co-operation, which at present has no tangible content, can offer the basis for expansion of mutual assistance to promote the common interests of the two countries.

Indo-Soviet Relations

IF there are any two big nations which, notwithstanding their differing socio-political systems, have a remarkable identity of views on most of the international issues they are India and the Soviet Union. This is the basis of the splendid record of Indo-Soviet relations that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi referred to in his speech at a banquet hosted in his honour by Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail S. Gorbachev in Moscow the other day. The foundation for the present cordial relations and fruitful economic cooperation between the two nations was laid by Jawaharlal Nehru. As Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union have very much become an "integral element" of India's foreign policy. It is this element that is very much misunderstood by some Western nations which accuse India of following a foreign policy with a pronounced tilt towards the Soviet Union. And it is for this element that India has been subjected by some powers to questionable pressures. But those who accuse India of a pro-Soviet stance cannot be unaware of India's stand on the Afghan issue. There were occasions when some Western leaders went to the length of writing off India as a democracy. A noteworthy feature of India has been that, despite the Western skepticism about its democracy and even overt hostility towards it, its democratic institutions have gained further strength in recent years. And India's growing and principled friendship with the Soviet Union has not affected even a wee bit India's political system. And there lies the significance of the Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation. This relationship has been growing steadily for the past three decades. One is confident that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit will further strengthen that relationship. His declaration in Moscow that he would continue the traditions set by Jawaharlal Nehru and steadfastly adhered to by successive Indian Governments must have gladdened the Soviet leaders, as it has the leaders in India.

It is a fact that the Soviet Union has stood by India in times of need. Take for instance the Kashmir issue, over which most Western nations ganged up against India in the Fifties. Seeing through the Western game the Soviet Union extended much-needed support to India in the U.N. Security Council. It would not be an exaggeration to say that democratic India has received

more support in times of need from the Soviet Union than from the Western crusaders for democracy. Whenever there is a clash of interests between India and Pakistan, most Western nations instinctively support Islamabad. This exposes the hypocrisy of the Western concern for democracy the world over. What these Western powers seem to want is a subservient Indian democracy ready to toe their line on world problems. Only thus could India prove how democratic it is! They are afraid that India, if not properly guided by the West, might slip into the Soviet orbit and go Communist for ever. But the recent general elections in India have proved how baseless the delusive Western fear is. The best way to protect Indian democracy is for those nations known to be playing the game of destabilisation on the Indian sub-continent to call off the sordid activity.

The political moral of the Indo-Soviet friendship is that ideological differences need not and — should not — create barriers between nations. Obviously, this is what Mr. Gorbachev had in mind when he said, at the banquet, that Indo-Soviet friendship was playing an ever-important and beneficial role in the entire system of international relations. India and other members of the Non-Aligned Movement are appreciative of the fact that the Soviet response to the Movement is favourable, which is not the case with many Western nations. Some of these nations dismiss NAM as of no consequences. And this is one of the reasons for India and the Soviet Union holding the same views on many world issues. India is glad that the Soviet Union is a staunch supporter of the move to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. India's peace moves over the years have had good response from the Soviet Union. But all this is dubbed by some powers as a pro-Soviet tilt in India's foreign policy. The perception of the delusive tilt exposes the bias against — even hostility towards India — in the attitude of the perceiver.

Rajiv frustrates plans to jettison Indira policy

By Sitanshu Das

The message from Moscow is loud and clear. The grand design to swerve him from Indira Gandhi's policy of assertive independence has been frustrated. That is the only conclusion possible of the press conference the Prime Minister addressed in Moscow after his meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachyov.

Vital as is the long-term economic cooperation agreement (entailing the pledge of Soviet credit of one billion roubles), of much greater significance is the measure of wider understanding the new leaders of India and the USSR seem to have reached at their first official meeting. The answers the Prime Minister offered at the end of the summit conference were reflective of that understanding. The 15-year-long Indo-Soviet economic cooperation and trade agreement is important. But what is of greater import is the feeling that India-USSR friendship has been renewed and divested of some misapprehensions which had been created after Indira Gandhi's assassination.

India's strategic defence must have figured as a subject of the Moscow discussion. It is most unlikely that the Prime Minister would have been as forthright as he was in expressing his anxiety over the US backing to Punjab extremists and inadequate American discouragement to the Pak plans for military nuclear capability had he not discussed these threats with the Soviet leader. His reply on this question was extraordinarily pointed and he made no effort to conceal his criticism in diplomatic circumlocution.

He was asked if he would raise with President Reagan the question of US backing to Punjab extremists. He said he would: he made no effort to qualify the questioner's imputation that American support had been available to Punjab extremist elements.

Equally frank was his criticism of America's complaisance towards General Zia's plans for atomic weapons—the solitary exemption

from the Symington amendment contrived for Islamabad and the soft punishment awarded to the Pakistani held in America for smuggling out the nuclear trigger mechanism. The imminence of his own planned meeting with President Reagan did not moderate the expression he gave to his unhappiness.

High Tech was no longer the anodyne explanation of the compromises which were being pressed on the Prime Minister. One western journalist asked how he hoped to secure from America high technology when his Soviet hosts had little hope of getting this. Mr Rajiv Gandhi's bland answer was that he saw no problem in that field.

Having recently signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Americans in Delhi and seen its restrictive small print conditionality, the Prime Minister had clearly come to a realistic conclusion about what India might hope to secure from US technology in the foreseeable future.

Uncomfortable questions deftly fielded to draw him out on the Soviet ideas about Asia's collective security and why he had chosen the Soviet Union as the first foreign country to visit as Prime Minister were tackled with matching professionalism and good humour.

No talking point could be discovered by critics of India's Soviet policy when he disarmed them by saying that India and the USSR took each other into confidence while they negotiated with China over their respective differences.

Even Indian socialism was not left out of the Moscow press conference. Much to the discomfort of those who do not want him to talk too much about socialism, the Prime Minister spoke of the national commitment to socialism and the commanding heights of the public sector in the Indian economy.

All in all, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's pronouncements in Moscow have cleared many misgivings and taken India back where Indira Gandhi had left off.

GORBACHEV DOCTRINE

MR Gorbachev's concept of Asian security elaborated in his banquet speech in honour of Mr Gandhi is an interesting idea that should not be dismissed merely as a replay of the Asian collective security proposal advocated by Brezhnev some 15 years ago and later. That was in the nature of a defence alliance under a Soviet umbrella. It was virtually a non-starter and India, like others, was cold to it. What Mr Gorbachev now seems to be suggesting is a mutual self-denying ordinance by the two super powers in the context of the non-aligned and independent status of the Third World. Local antagonisms within Asia and other regions have resulted in tensions and polarisation, inviting super power attention or intervention. It was Mr Gorbachev's thesis that every permanent member of the Security Council should assume an obligation "to observe the principles of non-interference, non-use of force or threat of force in relation to the countries of these continents and not to draw them into military blocs." This could pave the way to detente on the model of the Helsinki agreement in Europe, howsoever gradually.

The joint communique reaffirms the conviction of both the Soviet and Indian sides that political solutions to the problems of the region can be achieved only if the independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status of countries in the region are ensured. Afghanistan would be a good test of the Gorbachev doctrine. The Soviet military presence there, and American support for the Mujahideen and arms supplies to Pakistan to counter a perceived Russian threat across the Durand Line, has generated multiple tensions and strained Indo-Pakistan ties. Is Mr Gorbachev signalling Soviet willingness to withdraw from Afghanistan if the US and Pakistan are prepared to take certain steps? If so, why should not Mr Gandhi discuss these possibilities with Mr Reagan and President Zia? India is well placed to pursue the matter with Kabul too.

Pakistan and the rest of the world had accepted a non-aligned communist regime in Kabul until the Soviets, possibly fearing that the build-up of the Gulf crisis after the Khomeini revolution could lead to US intervention in Iran, moved into Afghanistan. This complex tangle needs to be unravelled. Any success in that direction would cast Indo-Pakistan relations in a new mould. A Soviet military withdrawal from Afghanistan could be a prelude, in time, to that country's entry into SAARC. Such an unfolding would not be inimical to the interests of either super power. To reject the Gorbachev doctrine out of hand as old hat would be mistaken. The proposal has potential. It should be explored.

Reassuring a friend

Mr Rajiv Gandhi's journey to the Soviet Union, the first official visit by him to a foreign country after becoming Prime Minister, was looked forward to by the hosts with both keenness and a measure of apprehension. If the new electronics policy, the Union budget and the export-import policy all taken together pointed to any one thing then it was an attempt by the new Indian leadership to reexamine the country's traditional commitment to socialism. These first few months have also been marked by a perceptible thaw in US attitudes towards India which has fructified in the finalisation of the agreement on technology transfer, thus laying the foundation for closer Indo-US economic cooperation. There was, hence, a genuine uncertainty in Soviet minds whether or not the new administration was shifting from its long term position of being the Soviets' closest and most important friend outside of the socialist bloc. What Mr Rajiv Gandhi has done is to firmly set at rest any such apprehension. He has affirmed that "India is very much on the way to socialism" and it and "the Soviet Union will stand together in the quest for peace." He has gone further and recalled that "the Soviet Union has been a friend (for) over 30 years. We have stood together in times of trial, we recognise that." If this is read together with the Prime Minister's assertion that Indo-Soviet friendship was not aimed "against anybody," then the most crucial conclusion follows: The present government remains as committed as ever to the principle of nonalignment.

Other than the important task of reassuring an old friend, the most concrete and far reaching consequence of the visit is the signing of an agreement for economic cooperation which carries with it a one billion rouble (Rs 1,000 crores) line of credit. The first economic credit agreement with the Soviet Union, which was signed for Bhilai in 1955, has burgeoned over the years into a major external resource channel for the Indian government, with the latest deal taking the total amount assured to 3.1 billion roubles. The credit will be used by India in the fields of oil, coal, power, machine building and ferrous metals. Of all these sectors, the credit has the maximum potential for benefiting India in the oil exploration sector. The Soviets, who have considerable expertise in onshore exploration, can help India take a few much needed strides in that area. What the rest of the credit will do is upgrade the technology that India had already acquired in those areas from the Soviets. It will also ensure the continuing Indian need for updated Soviet technology. The credit may at first sight seem unnecessary as India is currently running a surplus in its rupee trade account with the Soviet Union, that is, it has to find more things to buy from them to help them pay for what they buy from India. Credit on the other hand is needed when you have things to buy but have not the money to pay for it. But the newest line of credit will enable India to buy vastly larger amounts of machinery, technology and services which will then have to be paid for with Indian exports, thus taking the economic cooperation between the two countries to a much higher level. This should be both possible and beneficial as the credit is on very soft terms (which the West under the leadership of the US does not believe in giving India any longer) and Soviet technology in selected areas remains very cost effective.

Delhi Comments on Visit

BK271529 Delhi General Overseas Service in English
1340 GMT 27 May 85

[Commentary by All India Radio Correspondent C. Chandrasekharan: "A Fruitful Visit"]

[Text] The Indian Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the Soviet Union has been, as expected, a resounding success. It is well-known that the longstanding friendship between India and Soviet Union is built up on the basis of mutual respect, equality, and cooperation. Over the years the two countries have also developed durable and trustworthy ties. It was in this backdrop that Mr Rajiv Gandhi and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev — the new young leaders of India and the Soviet Union — had their meetings in Moscow last week. For both the leaders the meeting gave them an opportunity to know and understand each other better because it was their first detailed meeting, the earlier being a brief one, when they met at the time of the funeral of late Soviet President Chernenko. From all accounts their talks have proved fruitful and can be described as another landmark in further strengthening and consolidating Indo-Soviet friendship.

Another notable outcome is the personal rapport established between the two leaders after they took over the leadership of their respective countries.

The economic agreements signed in Moscow are expected to expand Indo-Soviet cooperation on a wider spectrum. One of these envisages a Soviet credit of about 1.1 billion rupees to finance Soviet goods and services for Indian projects in the core sectors of power, oil, coal, ferrous metals, and machine building. The other accord sets out basic guidelines for bilateral cooperation in the fields of trade, science, and technology until the turn of the century. These agreements will be useful to both countries. For India, they will help in its ongoing efforts to upgrade technology and strengthen the country's industrial infrastructure. To the Soviet Union, the gain would be that India's goods and expertise will be available in its modernization program.

Besides these steps to strengthen economic cooperation, the talks between the two leaders on the political level covered extensive ground. There was an earnest effort on the part of both — Mr

Rajiv Gandhi and Mr Gorbachev — to know each other's viewpoints better on major issues affecting the South Asian region and also on international problems. The joint statement issued on Sunday, simultaneously in New Delhi and Moscow, highlights the said objectives the two countries have in the maintenance of world peace.

India and the Soviet Union expressed concern over growing global tension and called for total destruction and prohibition of nuclear weapons and an immediate end to militarization of outer space to save the world from a nuclear holocaust. The two countries called upon nuclear weapon states to assume special responsibility for bringing about speedy disarmament. They also wanted urgent steps for reversing the arms race. In this context the statement said both India and the Soviet Union attached major importance to the Geneva disarmament talks. The call by the two countries for dismantling all foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean has further strengthened India's plea for making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

The joint statement has also supported the desire of India and other nonaligned countries for convening an international conference on the Indian Ocean next year.

The two leaders expressed their opposition to outside interference in the affairs of Southwest Asian and Southeast Asian countries to facilitate negotiated political settlement of the problems in the region.

FRANK...

FEARLESS...

FIRST...

BLITZ

FREE...

FEARLESS...

FIRST...

Master Of Diplomacy

A MAJOR RESULT of the Prime Minister's trip to the USSR has been the emergence of a new Rajiv Gandhi in complete command of the international arena—indeed, a master of diplomacy.

SO successful has been the mission to Moscow that its fallout will undoubtedly affect the rest of his diplomatic Odyssey to the Arab world (Egypt & Algeria), the European Economic Community (France) and, of course, the United States, for which the Soviets have set a model of co-operation with India.

THE ease, grace and assurance with which Rajiv handled not only the issues of his agenda, but also the Western media's attempted dissection of these, gave ample evidence of his inheritance of the astute statesmanship associated with the Nehrus and the Gandhis.

RAJIV's mature handling of thorny international issues found particular expression in the press conference he addressed in Moscow after his meeting with Gorbachyov. A barrage of questions from Western correspondents sensing that the predicted "shift" in Indian foreign policy was not materialising, were dealt with coolly but decisively.

A BRITISH correspondent's insinuation that the Moscow trip was aimed at gaining for India leverage in the West was given short shrift. The suggestion that a "warm" reception in Moscow necessarily meant a "cold" one in Washington was gently but firmly made to look ridiculous.

THE PM pointed out that the US was India's largest trading partner, a fact which in itself discredited the questioner's uni-dimensional view of the world. But the suggestion that Indian foreign policy would be modified to gain technological crumbs from the US was less gently dismissed, with Rajiv bluntly stating that New Delhi was not about to compromise its policies for anything, let alone technology.

BUT if the PM displayed humour, wit and adroitness, it was not at the cost of the honesty and straightforwardness associated with his charisma. Perhaps his most significant stand—with a trip to the USA just days away—was his outright opposition to Reagan's pipedream, and his clearly expressed determination to take up with the US President the issue of Washington's bankrolling of terrorism in Punjab.

ANY attempt to view the USSR trip in terms of just deft diplomacy would, however, leave us with an inadequate understanding of its true significance. It was the clearest enunciation yet of the Rajiv government's foreign policy, indeed of its philosophy, and nothing less.

IT has not only silenced the prophets of a rupture in Indo-Soviet relations, but also signalled an era of more assertive non-alignment. For the PM made no secret of his intention of carrying his opposition to the nuclear arms race and space wars, into the Reagan territory.

RAJIV has made an indelible impression on the USSR. The stage is now set for him to similarly influence the Arab, European and American masses, if not their leadership.

THE mission begun so well may accomplish one of the finest diplomatic feats by defusing if not laying the phantoms of war in our time, and enhancing the only other alternative of peace and non-alignment, already endorsed by the Soviet Union, to the stature of a doctrine accepted by the world. NAM has found a leader worth its name and fame in Rajiv Gandhi.

PAKISTANI EDITORIAL COMMENTS

U.S. Trying To 'Drag' India From Soviet Orbit
GF211838 Karachi MASHRIQ in Urdu 10 May 85

[Article by Syed Humayun Adeeb: "New American Leaning Toward India"]

[Excerpts] American superpower leaders have been trying for a long time to drag India out of the Soviet orbit, but in view of the deep friendship between Indira Gandhi and the Soviet rulers, they failed to make any headway. The 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan led several Indians to ponder the sensitive situation that the Soviet presence in Afghanistan created in the region. They fear that in the long run India will not remain immune from this threat.

Formerly, Afghanistan and Pakistan served as a buffer zone between India and the Soviet Union, but now they realize that only Pakistan remains. Moreover, they realize that any further advance by the Soviet Union toward the south not only will affect Indian interests in the Indian Ocean, but also will completely subject India to Soviet influence in international affairs. Therefore, the Indian sages thought it was time to review Indian policies toward the United States and its immediate neighbor Pakistan, but they could not do anything in the face of the intransigent attitude adopted by Mrs Indira Gandhi. She continued a hostile attitude in order to serve both Soviet and Indian interests.

With the departure of Indira Gandhi from this world, the policy adopted by Rajiv Gandhi is no different from the policy of his mother. He has started a propaganda war against Pakistan using the imaginary excuses of Pakistan's aggressive intentions (Pakistan making nuclear bombs and acquiring American arms). He also has shelved proposals to normalize relations with Pakistan. He is bent on acquiring modern technology that India cannot get anywhere except from the United States.

The Indian prime minister's policy is to acquire computers, lasers, sensors, and other items of modern technology. The United States is far ahead of others in this technology. American leaders are now betting on the advanced technology to force India out of the Soviet axis. During the last few weeks several American experts and officials from the State Department have visited India.

In the recent past some agreements have been signed between American private companies and India on the transfer of computer technology to India. Under the terms of this agreement, various kinds of American computers will be produced in India. But India needs a superior kind of technology that it could use

for military purposes. After acquiring most of its modern military technology from the Soviet Union, India now wants to acquire such technology from the United States that could help it in making laser weapons and highly sensitive military hardware. American leaders also seem to be very generous toward India. They think they can get India out of the influence of the Soviet Union. Following their talks over the last few weeks it seems that India and the United States have come close to a bilateral agreement that could considerably add to the Indian defense capability.

Diplomatic circles in New Delhi believe that according to American sources, India in the next 10 or 20 years could adopt the path of cooperation with the United States. U.S. Under Secretary of Defense Fred Ikle recently held talks with high-ranking Indian officials in New Delhi. He is part of the policymaking cell in the United States. He has been assured by Indian authorities that India could become a power which, by 1995 or 2005, could work for the peace and security of the world based on the viewpoint of the United States. According to Fred Ikle, there is great potential for starting a new era of relations between India and the United States.

If one analyzes American foreign policy, without doubt one will arrive at the conclusion that American presidents up to Jimmy Carter had always given India the status of an "important big country," a country that could become a U.S. ally. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the United States for the first time acknowledged that Pakistan bears an important position in this region and hence President Reagan felt the need to make Pakistan strong. However, the Reagan administration has put Pakistan in a secondary position. Without obtaining any assurances from India for its ally Pakistan, the Reagan administration is bent on giving India such generous treatment that will make India a very strong country. The United States has assured aid to Pakistan only against communist threats, but if India invades Pakistan, then Pakistan will have to defend itself alone.

It may also be pointed out that India is an ally of the Soviet Union in a defense agreement and it has received so much military aid from this superpower that it does not need any arms from the United States, only high technology. In other words, India does not need any arms aid from the United States. In December 1971 India openly invaded Pakistan under Soviet patronage and the United States declined to view this as a communist threat to Pakistan. The United States also ignored the taunts levied against it by the people of Pakistan. Now, the new American leaning toward India has caused concern among the Pakistani people.

MASHRIQ on Asian Security, Gorbachev's 'Forum'
GF291408 Karachi MASHRIQ in Urdu 26 May 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Security of Asia and the Indian Role"]

[Text] Addressing a reception given in honor of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, new Soviet leader Gorbachev said that India and the Soviet Union should coordinate their powers to lessen the tension in Asia. He stressed his proposal that the Asian countries should set up an Asia forum on the lines of the 1975 Helsinki conference so that, like Europe, an atmosphere of peaceful coexistence could be created in Asia. Mr Gorbachev believed that if such a proposal comes into effect then India could play a key role in it. Prior to this proposal Mr Rajiv Gandhi had conveyed his concern to the Soviet leader that Pakistan was stockpiling more arms than its needs and that Pakistan was close to manufacturing nuclear arms. He stressed the fact that the United States could do a lot to prevent Pakistan from making nuclear arms but it has turned its eyes away from this fact. Mr Gorbachev also said that Indian concern in this respect was justified.

It is a strange thing that on the one hand India and the Soviet Union are thinking of the security of Asia but on the other hand they do not seem to be aware of the real cause of the tension in Asia. Are not Afghanistan and Cambodia located in Asia? Are not the people of these countries fighting against the military intervention of the Soviet Union and Vietnam, respectively, to restore their self-rule and nonaligned status? Is not the situation in Afghanistan a cause of danger for the whole of western Asia, including Pakistan? Is not the situation in Cambodia a cause for concern for all of Southeast Asia? No answers to these bitter questions seem to come from Mr Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi. Of course, both have expressed their concern as to why Pakistan was buying arms in a limited quantity to safeguard its own security. Moreover, they have reiterated their baseless accusations that Pakistan was close to making atomic weapons and that the United States was closing its eyes to this situation.

Of course we agree that efforts should be made on regional bases for the security of Asia. We do not disagree that a forum like that of Helsinki would be useful for this purpose, but this forum should not be a copy of the Brezhnev forum for the security of Asia which in fact meant to make India a gendarme of Asia with Soviet support and to force the Asian countries to accept Indian hegemony. Pakistan is ready to accept every condition of peaceful coexistence with India on equal terms, but it would never accept Indian hegemony under any circumstance.

As far as the future of the relations between Pakistan and India is concerned, Pakistan would like the bases of these relations to be laid on mutual trust and is ready to sign a nonaggression pact with India so that the peace thus made is durable and trustworthy. Therefore, if India has any sincere interest in the security of Asia then first it should create an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence. If this is done then India will have no cause for expressing its concern on Pakistan's armament or nuclear programs. Pakistan has long been trying to make this entire region a region of peace and free from nuclear weapons. Why does not India do something in this respect? Pakistan has already proposed that India and Pakistan should limit the arms and number of men in their armed forces and that both should sign an agreement not to make atomic weapons. If India accepts these proposals there is nothing left to worry about. If the new Soviet leadership has any interest in the security of Asia then it should withdraw its forces from Afghanistan and force Vietnam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea. This will remove the two-pronged tension in Asia.

SOVIET PERSPECTIVES

The Rajiv Gandhi visit further strengthened mutual trust between the leaders of our two countries and the close friendship between our peoples

ROSE AND LOTUS

ALEXANDER USVATOV,
LEONID ZHEGALOV

As the plane was nearing Moscow, it was announced that the sky over the Soviet capital was overcast and that it was raining. The Indian newsmen accompanying Rajiv Gandhi began to put on their raincoats. One of them, the correspondent of a leading bourgeois magazine, essayed a joke:

"I have a good lead for my story, fellows: 'It is not always sunshine in Indian-Soviet relations—they also have their rainy seasons....'"

"Listen here, friend," put in a correspondent of a big Delhi newspaper. "Don't you think that the vagaries of the weather only accentuate the constancy of the relations between the two countries?"

The "weather aspect" of the visit was left outside the Grand Kremlin Palace, where during the top-level talks held on May 21-22 the political constancy was confirmed of Soviet-Indian relations, which are based not on variable factors but on the solid foundation of the Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Cooperation of 1971.

Years and decades pass and generations succeed one another (in leaderships as well), but friendly, mutually beneficial relations and ties between the Soviet Union and India are invariably on the upgrade.

Why is this so? What is the explanation?

It is because these relations are built on complete equality, on mutual respect and trust. Neither side exerts pressure on the other, or lays down any political conditions. The identity or closeness of the positions of the two countries on the fundamental issues of our time, once again demonstrated in the course of the Moscow talks, are another pillar on which Soviet-Indian cooperation rests.

On the Upgrade

Stability and breadth of scope are invariable features of Soviet-Indian relations. These relations are not subject to

fluctuations, they are not affected by all manner of speculation or the malicious rumour-mongering of which there is no dearth these days in Western propaganda. The best reply to the attempts to drive a wedge between India and the U.S.S.R. are the clear-cut pronouncements of the leaders of the two countries.

Rajiv Gandhi: "Friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union are an integral element of our foreign policy. Our people regard the Soviet people as friends who have stood by them in times of need."

Mikhail Gorbachev: "The leadership of the Soviet Union intends actively to work further to develop and deepen friendly Soviet-Indian relations. Peace-loving, independent India will always meet with the understanding and support of the Soviet Union."

Our country's attitude to India reflects the principled and unfailing support given by the Soviet Union to the struggle of the peoples against imperialist oppression, for the strengthening of their independence and for social renewal.

As regards Soviet-Indian economic cooperation, the more than 70 jointly built plants are sufficient illustration of its scale and multiformity. Precisely these plants enabled India to lay the foundation for its own heavy industry. They form the core of the state sector in India.

Moscow and Delhi are looking far ahead. One of the agreements signed during the Indian Prime Minister's visit defines the basic areas of economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation in the long term, all the way to the beginning of next century. Another agreement relates to economic and technical cooperation in the construction in India in the immediate future of a number of projects, primarily in the fuel and power industries. They include an 840,000 kilowatt thermal electric power station in Bihar State, open-cast coal mines and pits in the

Uttar Pradesh and Bihar states, and prospecting for oil. It is also proposed to modernize the engineering works built with Soviet assistance. Moreover, the Soviet Union will extend a large credit in rubles to cover the cost of Soviet goods and services required in the process of giving effect to the agreed projects. The newspaper Indian Express observes that these agreements are based on the most favourable terms ever offered India.

As regards the range of Soviet-Indian ties in the economic and technical sphere, it now extends from the bowels of the earth to outer space.

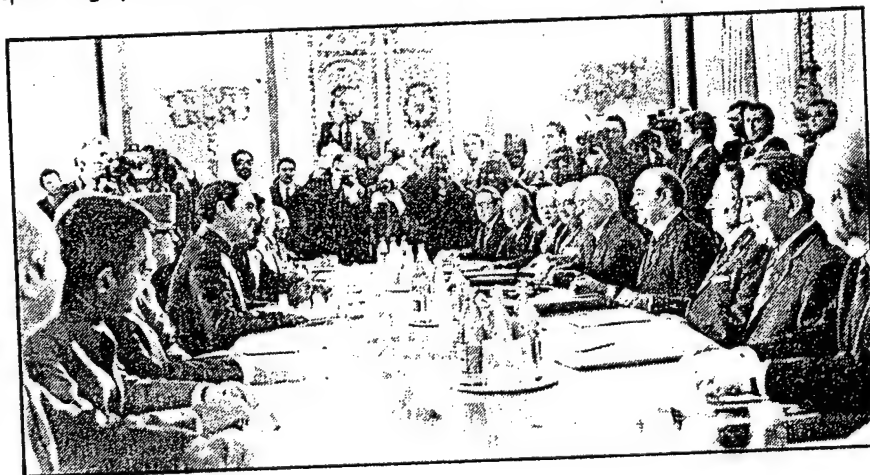
However, the dimensions of what has been accomplished should not obscure the opportunities that exist for further advance. The Indian Prime Minister spoke highly of the substantial contribu-

tion made by the U.S.S.R., to the strengthening of India's economic potential and accelerating its scientific and technological progress. "We look forward to a rapid enlargement of this co-operation," he said. When at a press conference a Western newsman asked Rajiv Gandhi, who is shortly to visit the United States, whether India was ready to support Washington's foreign policy in exchange for American technology, the Prime Minister replied that India did not barter away its principles.

This far from exhausts the list of Soviet and Indian peace initiatives projected at the same goals. For instance, Delhi calls for talks on a convention on the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons which would be signed by all the nuclear powers. This is supported by the Soviet side. In turn, India welcomed the Soviet renunciation of first use of

close interest in the activity of this influential political trend of our time. The Soviet Union and India voiced satisfaction over the growth of the positive role played by the movement in the struggle for peace and to prevent a nuclear catastrophe, the struggle for disarmament and détente.

One of its most important tasks the non-aligned movement sees in the struggle for equitable trade and economic relations between the developed capitalist and the developing countries. The Soviet Union fully supports this struggle. It proposes in the future as well to work for the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. That this objective can be attained is evidenced by the example of Soviet-Indian cooperation.



During the talks.

Photo by S. Smirnov
and A. Steshanov

Together in the Fight for Peace

It is only natural that the leaders of a great socialist power and one of the biggest Asian states which at present stands at the head of the non-aligned movement should have given prime attention to a wide range of international problems. As is pointed out in their joint statement, the sides once again confirmed the identity or closeness of their positions on the basic issues of the time.

The fact indeed is that many of the two countries' foreign policy initiatives pursue a parallel course or complement each other. The U.S.S.R., Rajiv Gandhi observed, was the first, and is so far the only nuclear power to support the Delhi declaration adopted by the heads of state and government of six countries

nuclear weapons. Many other such examples could be given.

Perseveringly working for peace on both major and minor issues, the U.S.S.R. and India have voiced concern over the growth of international tension caused in particular by the increasing danger of the nuclear arms race being carried into outer space. To this they counterpose peaceful, mutually beneficial cooperation between states with different social systems on the basis of the principles of equality, mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Soviet-Indian ties are a model of such cooperation. Moscow and Delhi are opposed to encroachments on the sovereign rights of the states and peoples to independent, peaceful development, opposed to all manifestations of imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and hegemonism. In a word, they declare for the observance in international intercourse of the principles of peaceful coexistence, for the solution of disputed international issues through negotiations, without the use of force.

Receiving in Moscow the chairman of the non-aligned movement, the Soviet leadership naturally displayed a

Drawing Closer Together

The Indian journalists who accompanied the Prime Minister invariably underscored in their reports the cordiality and warmth with which Rajiv Gandhi and his party were met in Moscow, Byelorussia and Kirghizia. But one ceremonial occasion was perhaps particularly noteworthy, indeed symbolic: the naming in Moscow of one of the city squares after Indira Gandhi. Another square a few blocs away from it on Lomonosov Prospect was named after Jawaharlal Nehru several years ago.

Needless to say, the multiform fruitful cooperation between India and the Soviet Union is based on what might be called rational factors—mutual benefit, similarity of views on international issues, common interest in the creation of peaceful external conditions for constructive endeavour at home. But this cooperation would not be as full-blooded and stable were it not for another factor which one would hardly call rational: reciprocal emotional gravitation of the two great peoples towards each other, the mainspring of which is to be found in their common, if outwardly different, historical destinies.

"We know how greatly your nation has suffered in the wars following the revolution," Rajiv Gandhi said in a television address to the Soviet people. "We know the sacrifice that every family of your great country has made. Out of the anguish and blood has sprung the rose of your love of peace, even as out of our colonial suffering has grown the lotus of our hope and determination. So let us tend this rose and this lotus."

This call finds a deep response in the hearts of the Soviet people, who cherish the warmest sympathy for our great neighbour nation.

The intertwining of the rose and the lotus is indeed a fitting symbol of Soviet-Indian friendship. The Indian Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union marked a new important step in the further development of multiform relations between two of the world's biggest countries.

NIKOLAYEV ON U.S. REACTION TO USSR-INDIA TIES

BK071327 Moscow in Urdu to India 1200 GMT 3 Jun 85

[Yevgeniy Nikolayev commentary]

[Text] There has been widespread comment on the outcome of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's official and friendly visit to the Soviet Union. Foreign comment has stressed the great importance of the high-level Moscow talks for the promotion of Soviet-Indian relations and for stabilizing peace. Against this favorable background, some U.S. press comment certainly warrants attention. For example, THE NEW YORK TIMES wrote that the visit casts a shadow of frustration over U.S. diplomats. The paper acknowledged that some U.S. quarters have long expected a weakening of the traditional Soviet-Indian friendship, but their expectations did not bear fruit this time. Moreover, as the paper's correspondent reported from Delhi, the visit further strengthened the roots of Soviet-Indian friendship in a number of fields, with political circles and the Indian press describing Moscow as a faithful friend.

The question naturally arises as to why U.S. diplomats and others are unhappy with the development of Soviet-Indian relations? The Soviet Union and India have formulated a long-term extensive cooperation program for the benefit of their two countries and in the interest of world peace. What is bad about that? Why do some U.S. representatives hold a negative attitude toward it? Is it not because the Indian prime minister's visit to the Soviet Union has proved that relations between the two countries are characterized by equality and mutual benefit? Naturally, the difficult issues involving Soviet-U.S. relations also came to the surface. Recently, many sectors of the Indian and U.S. press, such as the TIMES OF INDIA and the CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR discussed this issue. The Indian paper points to the Soviet provision of a 1 billion ruble credit to India for the construction of major projects in the power, machine building and oil exploration sectors. The credit will bear an annual interest rate of 2-2.5 percent and will be repaid by India by supplying Indian goods, including textiles, to the Soviet Union. In this context, the paper notes that U.S. banks offer loans to developing countries, including India, at a rate of 12-14 percent or more. Simultaneously, India is being denied loans on easy terms through the International Development Association. India is also facing considerable difficulties due to the protectionist policies of the United States. At present, the U.S. Congress is reviewing the Jenkins and Fairmont bills under which extensive restrictions will be imposed on Indian textile imports. The TIMES OF INDIA estimated that this will reduce Indian exports to the United States to [figure indistinct] from \$3 billion. Against this background, the fast growth of restriction-free Soviet-Indian trade is particularly noticeable.

The agreement on basic trends of economic cooperation until 2000 signed during Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the Soviet Union will lead to notable increases in the trade between the two countries and improve the trade balance and mutual supply system. The sale of modern machinery and technology and the mutual exchange of the latest scientific and technological breakthroughs assume special importance in this regard. If such a favorable development of relations between the Soviet Union and India creates unhappiness and displeasure for the U.S. companies, is it not due to characteristics of U.S. policy toward developing countries? It is no secret that it is only because of Washington's claim of special rights in Asia, Africa and Latin America that tension was created in these regions. For instance, the United States declared the Indian Ocean as a region of vital interest. The Pentagon started massive military construction in the region. This is an open challenge to the littoral states and the Nonaligned Movement who are in favor of transforming the Indian Ocean into a peace zone.

In their joint statement, the Soviet Union and India raised their voice against impairing the sovereign rights of independent developing nations, and every manifestation of imperialism, neocolonialism and hegemonism. The Soviet Union and India appealed for the closure of foreign bases in the Indian Ocean and an early convening of an international conference to transform it into a peace zone.

On the question of halting the arms race, the Soviet Union and India hold an identical stand, and this can never be a cause of frustration. Both the Soviet Union and India firmly believe that checking nuclear war is the issue of highest priority today, and people all over the world agree with them on this issue. The meaningful Soviet-Indian peace initiatives also prove [word indistinct] in achieving this objective. It was pointed out during the Soviet-Indian summit meeting that these initiatives have only one objective, that is, to end the arms race on the earth and its (?expansion) into space. This is why India highly values the Soviet proposal for taking comprehensive steps to freeze nuclear arsenals and to reduce them and to stop the militarization of space.

For its part, the Soviet Union fully supports the Delhi Declaration of six nations which was approved as a result of the Nonaligned Movement chairman's initiatives. As was stated by Rajiv Gandhi at his Moscow press conference, the United States has not yet responded to this initiative. The Soviet Union and India have constructive and balanced stands on other major issues of world politics, and if the U.S. scientists hold a negative attitude toward this trend, then it is only because of the negative stand of the United States on international affairs.

PART II. GANDHI'S VISIT TO WASHINGTON

ANTICIPATING THE VISIT

POLITICAL COMMENTARY

Rajiv, Reagan and Gorbachev

By H. K. Dua

THERE is considerable interest among India watchers all over the world in the Prime Minister's forthcoming visits to the Soviet Union and the United States. Later this month he goes to Moscow for talks with Mr Mikhail Gorbachev and next month he will be in Washington talking to President Ronald Reagan. The outcome of Mr Rajiv Gandhi's talks in Moscow and Washington and what he says there will give some idea of the kind of policy he is going to have towards the two super powers.

Both Moscow and Washington have during the last six months been probing Mr Rajiv Gandhi's mind on foreign affairs and looking for any signals they might get from New Delhi and its new decision-makers. The Soviet Union has been keenly wanting to be reassured that Mr Rajiv Gandhi will carry on the pro-Soviet policy Indira Gandhi followed during her years of power. The United States has begun hoping that some new opportunities have opened up for it in India at long last.

While Moscow's stress is on continuity in India's foreign policy, the United States has begun working for change in India's policy towards the United States and as such towards the Soviet Union. Voices in Parliament or at the All India Congress Committee(I) apart, it remains to be seen whether Mr Rajiv Gandhi opts for continuity or change in policy towards the two super powers.

PARTY MACHINE

A new set of men belonging to a new generation are in power in Delhi now. They do not have much experience in government although they wielded plenty of influence during Indira Gandhi's last three years in office. During these years these men mostly concentrated on domestic affairs and, encouraged by Indira Gandhi, on building a party machine tailored for Mr Rajiv Gandhi's succession. They had neither the time, nor perhaps the inclination, to dabble in foreign affairs, which they left to Indira Gandhi to juggle. These men in Government now have thrown up question-marks about their perceptions in foreign affairs.

The foreign policy of a country does not depend on an individual or a set of individuals around him or her. Geopolitical realities, security environment and a lot of other historical, social and economic factors go into the making of foreign policy. At the same time it would be unrealistic to assume that the hard-headed men in the Kremlin are not probing the predilections of the new men in power in Delhi. Any major decision taken by the Rajiv Gandhi Government in the field of foreign or domestic affairs is bound to be the subject of intense scrutiny in the Kremlin as also in Washington.

If the budget and emerging economic policy has elated the Wall Street Journal, and possibly the Reagan Administration, New Delhi's inclination towards a freer and less-controlled economy and reduced emphasis on the public sector is bound to cause anxiety in Moscow. It could wonder whether the men who jettison an inherited economic policy might also depart from the known foreign policy approach which Moscow liked.

That Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, who moved the resolution on international affairs at the meeting of the AICC(I), spoke glowingly and at length about Indo-Soviet relations clearly shows that New Delhi feels the need to allay Soviet anxieties before Mr Rajiv Gandhi meets President Gorbachev.

INNOVATIVE

To the extent that Moscow is worried about the possible foreign policy of what seems like a right-of-centre government in Delhi, Washington has begun feeling that the time has come for it to look for new opportunities, which it believes were not easily available in Indira Gandhi's time. The US apparently thinks that the new decision-makers in Delhi are young and innovative men who have no ideological hang-ups. Americans feel it will be easier to establish a rapport with these men than it could with the Indira regime.

A host of Senators and Congressmen, Dr Henry Kissinger, and senior officials have flocked to Delhi during the last few months in search of new

openings. The US Under Secretary of Defence Policy, Dr Fred Ikle, was here last week to be followed by Mr Verne Orr, Secretary for the Air Force. The US Commerce Secretary, Mr Malcolm Baldrige, will be in Delhi later this month. They are all looking for ways to win Mr Rajiv Gandhi over to Washington's side.

The US cannot be naive enough to believe that the new Indian rulers will readily make a turn around in their relations with the Soviet Union. It realises that despite the orientation of new men in Delhi, India will not become lukewarm to the Soviet Union in the near future. Available accounts of the recent meetings of the Indo-Soviet Joint Commission, and the recent visit of the Indian Defence Minister to Moscow and the tone and content of the speeches at the AICC(I) meeting go contrary to the view that Indo-Soviet relations are entering a colder phase.

Nevertheless Washington thinks it is worth while wooing Mr Rajiv Gandhi, even if the gains come in small morsels and over a period of time. Its aim is clear but the approach is somewhat more subtle than that followed soon after Indira Gandhi came to power in 1966.

Some baits have already been thrown by Washington. The US is showing a more flexible attitude on the question of transfer of technology, as is evident from the discussions between the two countries on the Memorandum Of Understanding (MQU). Washington is proceeding on the assumption that the Soviet Union does not possess the high technology which the US has and that the importance which India's new rulers attach to hi-tech will inevitably draw them closer to it.

Dr Ikle, who is the Pentagon's man on defence policy perhaps conveyed the impression to the Indian Government that it was not only the State Department that was seeking better relations with India. His mission was not aimed at selling particular items of defence equipment to India, but available information suggests that his basic thrust was to make known that Washington is prepared to open a defence supply relationship as a part of its attempt to improve relations with India.

TECHNOLOGY

In effect Washington has sent word that India need not rush to the Soviet Union for arms on the plea that the United States is averse to selling these to India. There are hints that the US would even be prepared to allow transfer of technology so that India can manufacture these arms, if its initial purchases from the US are not enough for its needs.

There are also suggestions about greater cooperation in the field of scientific research and the US Commerce Secretary may offer to increase American purchases from India, stepping up the level of Indo-US trade. How far Government will nibble at these baits remains to be seen. Its current thinking seems to be to seek improvement in relations with the US without diluting relations with the Soviet Union. There are problems, however.

Recent speeches by the Prime Minister suggest that India continues to view with suspicion and enormous concern US arms supplies to Pakistan. India rejects the theory that Pakistan is getting these sophisticated arms to fight a Soviet threat on its western border. What is perhaps galling to New Delhi is the sophistication of US arms and equipment that have brought vital Indian targets under Pakistani surveillance and range of attack. The United States has also come under criticism from India for not doing anything to prevent Pakistan from going ahead with its programme to achieve nuclear weapons capability.

It is clear that US-Pakistan relations continue to be an important factor in Indo-US relations, just like India's friendship with the Soviet Union is a crucial factor in Washington's view of India. While New Delhi wants dilution of the US-Pakistan relations, Washington is seeking dilution of relations between India and the Soviet Union.

SECURITY

On Pakistan, Indo-US differences are likely to persist. Washington's message is that both India and the US have a common interest in a stable Pakistan and that the threat to its security after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is a threat to all of South Asia. New Delhi's answer is that arming Pakistan increases the threat to Indian security. Apparently, the

two countries continue to differ in their perceptions of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi has not said much on Afghanistan but it is unlikely that in his public pronouncements he is going to speak in a language different from that of Indira Gandhi, who did not condemn the Soviet Union but made it known that India did not favour the continued presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. Washington does not expect that while in the Soviet Union, Mr Gandhi would go beyond the position taken by Indira Gandhi after her talks with Soviet leaders.

South Block is busy these days preparing for the Prime Minister's visits to the Soviet Union and the United States. The immediate aim is to find ways to make both the visits look successful. This requires balancing techniques and use of the right phrases that South Block has perfected over the years.

Both visits will project the young Prime Minister on the international stage. It is possible that a detailed framework of policy towards the two super powers will be attempted after his talks in Moscow and Washington. May be the new Prime Minister will keep everyone guessing whether he prefers a Russian bear hug to overtures from the American eagle.

Superpowers vying with each other to woo Rajiv

From G. K. Reddy

NEW DELHI, April 30.

The two super powers are, from all accounts, vying with each other in wooing the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, by making a deeper impression on him during his forthcoming visits to Moscow and Washington.

The Soviet Union, which is apparently perturbed by the latest American efforts to placate him with offers of high technology transfer and sale of sophisticated arms, is going all out to make his Moscow visit an important landmark in the development of Indo-Soviet relations.

As a sort of curtain-raiser to this visit, the Soviet Union today announced the award posthumously of Lenin Peace prize for Indira Gandhi, who will be honoured further with the dedication of a sports stadium in Moscow in her name. The Soviet hosts are drawing up the programme of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's trip in such a manner that the basic theme of continuity is highlighted at every stage to focus attention on the fact that the son is no less devoted than his late mother to the consolidation of Indo-Soviet relations.

The new Soviet leadership headed by Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev is reported to be very keen on making a series of announcements during Mr. Gandhi's visit on increased Soviet assistance for India's development. It is also expected to assure him of the Soviet readiness to make available all the highly sophisticated weaponry that India wants for its defence on highly competitive terms.

U.S. efforts: The Reagan Administration is making a parallel bid to establish a closer relationship with India without prejudice to its on-going military assistance to Pakistan. The U.S. Under-Secretary of Defence, Mr. Fred Charles Ikle, who is arriving tomorrow on a four-day visit, will be meeting the Defence Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, the Defence Secretary, Mr. S. K. Bhatnagar, and other senior officials of the Defence Ministry to discuss the possibilities of establishing an arms supply relationship with India through transfer of high technology and also sale of certain types of aircraft and even weapons on mutually acceptable terms.

After concluding his talks in Delhi, Mr. Ikle will be going to Bangalore to get an idea of the capabilities of HAL for assembly or licensed production of different categories of transport and combat aircraft. He will also visit Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL) to assess its capacity for absorption of high American technology in this field for both civil and military uses.

The Secretary of the U.S. Air Force, Mr. Verne Orr, who arrives next week, will probably have more detailed discussions on the requirements of Indian Air Force, while the Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Malcolm Baldrige, who follows later, will review the prospects for increased Indo-U.S. trade and American investments in India in some specified spheres.

The intention is to get all this data ready for some major offers of increased American collaboration during Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Washington. The U.S. Government is also planning to show him the Johnson Space Centre in Houston when he flies to Texas with the Vice-President, Mr. George Bush, to spend a day at his home.

A lot of preparatory work is being done simultaneously by the Ministries concerned in Delhi to enable Mr. Rajiv Gandhi to respond to the Soviet and U.S. offers of increased cooperation to the desired extent for securing the necessary assistance from the two super powers without in any way altering the delicate balance in India's relationship with them. All possible care is being taken to avoid the impression of any new tilt towards the U.S. to the detriment of its establishee relationship with the Soviet Union.

Flexibility needed: But as a product of a different generation with a new technological vision, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has to display greater flexibility in his dealings with the two super powers to ensure that India has equal access to their industrial and scientific developments. The basic intention is to obtain access to all available assistance from both of them for increasing India's self-reliance and progressively reducing the country's dependence on foreign collaboration.

The young Prime Minister with his modern bent of mind is not, therefore, suspecting any sinister motives behind the latest American moves to cultivate him. He feels that it is for India to decide to what extent it should avail itself of the offers of assistance consistent with the policies of his Government. It does not mean that he is going to stop protesting against increasing American military aid to Pakistan by agreeing to establish a limited arms purchase relationship with the U.S. in India's own interest.

The forthcoming visits to Moscow and Washington are going to be his first major test in international diplomacy in dealing with the two super powers

Rajiv visit: cautious optimism in U.S.

From G. K. Reddy

NEW DELHI, June 10.

The U.S. Government has been privately cautioning both in Delhi and Washington, against any excessive expectations of a spectacular upsurge in Indo-American relations as a result of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit, since the persisting differences over many issues cannot be sorted out overnight even with the best of intentions.

The main emphasis at present is on removing the avoidable strains through a frank exchange of views on each other's concerns and compulsions.

The U.S. is no longer insisting that India should move away from Moscow to demonstrate its desire for better relations with Washington. The Reagan Administration, on the contrary, has from all accounts reconciled itself to the thought that it is both possible and desirable for India to have reasonably good relations with both the superpowers without leaning heavily on either.

Fact of life: It is this readiness to accept India's ongoing relationship with Moscow as a fact of life that has opened the way for the current U.S. efforts to reduce this dependence to some extent through countervailing links based on technology transfers, capital flows and increased trade. The U.S. is also inclined to reconsider its restrictive economic policies towards India and relax the squeeze on concessional assistance by the World Bank and other international institutions.

Limiting arms supplies to Pakistan: But at the political level, it has been made quite clear that the farthest the U.S. is prepared to go to mollify India is to restrict its military assistance to Pakistan to weapon systems that are relevant to its legitimate defence requirements against the Soviet pressures through Afghanistan. The Reagan Administration will not abandon its policy of arming Pakistan, but it will pay greater attention hereafter to the Indian objections that some of the highly sophisticated equipment sought by the Zia regime, like the Hawkeye airborne radar system, the Harpoon missiles, the Mohawk battlefield surveillance aircraft, the Vulcan Phalanx air defence equipment, the improved tow missiles for anti-tank warfare, the 155 mm howitzers and the updated offensive capabilities of F-16 aircraft, could be used only against it in the sub-continental terrain.

Joint commitment on the bomb: As far as Pakistan's nuclear ambitions are concerned, the U.S. is not likely to respond to Indian pleas to exert pressures on the Zia regime to refrain from making the bomb under the guise of developing explosion technology to harness atomic energy for peaceful purposes. But the U.S. has started mooted the idea of a joint commitment by India and Pakistan not to go in for nuclear arms, along with adequate safeguards against possible violations, which would amount to signing or submitting to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty with all its discriminatory provisions.

Sri Lanka issue: The U.S. has indicated its readiness to help India and Sri Lanka in finding a political settlement to the Tamil problem within the framework of a sovereign Sri Lankan State. It has welcomed the broad understanding reached at the Delhi summit to end the terrible bloodshed in the island and strive for a negotiated solution that would give the Tamil minority the substance of regional autonomy on the Indian pattern.

Relations with Nepal, Bangladesh: The U.S. also wants India to pursue with greater vigour its new policy of improving relations with its neighbouring countries, Nepal and Bangladesh, by responding more sympathetically to some of their grievances. The U.S. has been privately lending support to the Nepalese proposal for a so-called zone of peace, while urging that Bangladesh with its many blind spots deserves better consideration.

The U.S. is prepared to underwrite the primacy of India in South Asia, but, in return, it expects this country to adopt a softer attitude towards the neighbours to enable Washington to press forward with its own geopolitical and geostrategic pursuits in the region without Indian opposition. It also expects India to take a more sympathetic view of the American position in the Gulf area, without prejudice to its stand on the West Asian situation.

Not expecting too much now: It will take some time for all these bits and pieces of American policy to fall into a pattern that would be more acceptable to India even if Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Washington goes off well as expected by both the Governments. But what is important is that in its understandable desire to improve relations with India, and, in the process, progressively reduce the country's dependence on the Soviet Union, the U.S. is taking care to avoid unduly high expectations by opting consciously to move forward slowly rather than hasten suddenly with all the attendant risks of a setback through miscalculation.

Awareness Of India In U.S.

A New Element In Relations

By GIRILAL JAIN

IN any discussion of the future prospect of Indo-U.S. relations, we should take note of a new element that has entered the picture. Which is that there now exists in the United States a popular awareness of India the like of which has seldom been witnessed before. A variety of factors have reinforced one another to produce this awareness.

It all began with Mrs. Indira Gandhi's visit in the summer of 1982. On the face of it, the visit was not too big a success from the Indian point of view. By way of specific results, it only paved the way for a resolution of the dispute over the supply of enriched uranium and spare parts for the Tarapur plant, and that too because the French and the West Germans were prepared, for their own reasons, to help; the French in respect of enriched uranium and the Germans in respect of spare parts. And it did not end the U.S. policymakers' ambivalence towards the former Prime Minister. But it ended a major source of friction between the two governments, created the possibility of the U.S. adopting a more helpful approach towards India, and above all, it was a significant media event. Mrs. Gandhi apparently came off very well on the TV screen so much so that a number of Americans recalled it to me almost three years later during a recent visit to their country.

This was followed by Attenborough's *Gandhi* towards the end of 1982. To borrow from the language of war, it was a blockbuster. Several Indian commentators who happened to visit the United States then wrote about the appeal of the film to Americans who saw it in their millions. But while no Indian commentator could anticipate that *Gandhi* would firmly install India in the hearts and minds of a lot of Americans, this is precisely what it did. *Gandhi* stirred something quite deep in the American psyche.

The real Mahatma, as students of history would know, had made an impact on the United States. After all, Martin Luther King had derived his techniques of non-violent resistance to racial discrimination from him. The Mahatma's message had also had

an appeal, especially in the sixties and the seventies, for those Americans who had come to reject industrialism and were looking for what they regarded a saner alternative. But Attenborough's *Gandhi* was a different story altogether.

It did much more than introduce the Mahatma and therefore India to ordinary Americans who had not heard of the former and did not care for the latter. It brought alive for Americans a Christ-like figure all Christians have yearned for in the deepest recesses of their psyche.

Positive Impact

For all we know, Attenborough was not concerned whether or not his film would promote India. But his *Gandhi* gave Americans a view of India which was different from the one either popular magazine articles or well-meant charity publicity campaigns had given. It transformed the image of the Indian people — from victims of poverty, illiteracy and superstition into brave fighters for freedom and justice. Perhaps for the first time *Gandhi* impressed a positive picture of India on the American mind.

Mrs. Gandhi's visit to the United States had been preceded by the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979, India's refusal to support the U.N. resolution condemning it and calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops in January 1980 when she was back in power in New Delhi, and the Reagan administration's decision to extend military-cum-economic assistance to Pakistan totalling \$3.2 billion.

Many of us in India have viewed the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in the context of the new cold war. And since we have by and large held President Reagan's unashamedly right-wing administration responsible for this second cold war on account of its policy of wanting to restore America's superiority over the Soviet Union in the military field, the only field in which the Russians have managed to achieve parity with the Americans, we have no idea of the impact of the Soviet action in Afghanistan on the American psyche. It angered and aroused the Americans as no other Soviet move had for a long time.

Almost to a man, they were united in their condemnation of what they called Soviet aggression and occupation of Afghanistan.

So when on her return to office in January 1980, Mrs. Gandhi refused to join more than 100 other governments, many of them members of the non-aligned group, in their condemnation of Soviet intervention, the American reaction was one of dismay, annoyance and resentment. For them her move to stay neutral was one more piece of evidence that she was irrevocably pro-Soviet and anti-U.S. At least to me personally, no American has ever compared her with Mr. Krishna Menon, though he too irked them so much so that they remember him almost a quarter of a century after he ceased to be important in India's affairs.

Enduring Fascination

She, however, fascinated them as no other Indian has fascinated them, not even her great father, Jawaharlal Nehru. This became evident at the time of her visit to the United States in 1982 but not fully. America's fascination with Mrs. Gandhi came into full play at the time of her assassination.

No political assassination since President Kennedy's in 1963 has received the kind of media coverage Mrs. Gandhi's did in the United States. Leading newspapers such as the *New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times* devoted pages and pages to her and so did popular magazines such as *Time* and *Newsweek*. Even more significantly, the cremation ceremony was telecast live for four and a half hours on the west coast and by cable service in the rest of America where the time difference was unfavourable for popular viewing.

This explosion of interest in Mrs. Gandhi was, of course, spontaneous. It was also a tribute to her status as India's Prime Minister and chairperson of the non-aligned movement. But above all, it was an expression of the Americans' fascination for her.

It would be intellectual laziness to describe American fascination for Mrs. Gandhi as a love-hate relationship. I have not seen either much love for her among Americans of any strata and description or the kind of sizzling hatred which Castro arouses among them. President Reagan and his aides certainly wanted to do business with her and were confident of being able to do so at an appropriate time. Even the move to sell some weapons involving high technology to India on terms acceptable to India was initiated when she was still around.

In my opinion, the American fascination for Mrs. Gandhi was a mix of admiration and distrust. They admired her precisely because she refused to be brow-beaten by them, however heavy the odds and great the risks. Kissinger gave expression to this fairly widespread admiration for her in his memoirs when he described her as a cold-blooded practitioner of realpolitik in the service of her country. And they distrusted her because more often than not she was seen to side with the Soviet Union. While this distrust was not strong enough to exclude the possibility of a deal with her, it informed the American attitude, official as well as popular, towards her.

As far as I can determine on the strength of my discussions with American scholars and policy-makers over the years, I can say that despite their distrust of her they had come to equate India's political stability which they valued for their own geostrategic considerations with her. During the recent visit I also discovered that the ease with which Mr. Rajiv Gandhi first stepped into the office of Prime Minister on that fateful October 31 and then won a massive mandate from the people came as a great surprise to most Americans.

Ironies Of History

It is impossible to say what the American reaction to Mrs. Gandhi's assassination would have been if as a result India had been thrown into confusion. But as things have turned out, it has produced a sense of relief. Since the admiration was a forced one, the other ingredient of distrust has come to the fore. Some Americans might challenge this assessment and it is likely to irritate many more. But during my three weeks in their country I met barely a couple of individuals who were genuinely sad at Mrs. Gandhi's murder or remembered her with fondness.

In all fairness, however, I must hasten to emphasise that Americans feel relieved at the exit of Mrs. Gandhi from the Indian political scene because it has been followed by a smooth transition and demonstration by Mr. Rajiv Gandhi that he is a leader in his own right. Mr. Rajiv Gandhi enjoys in the United States a level of popularity which I do not think even his grandfather enjoyed at the time of his first visit there in 1949 when President Truman expected to win him over as an ally in the fight against communist China.

The Prime Minister commands a wholly positive image in America. His calm and self-possessed face on the occasion of his mother's last rites is impressed on the minds of millions of Americans. They regard his conduct on that occasion as a sign of inner strength. They have been greatly struck by his election campaigns and their results. His western education, love for flying and western music, marriage to a western woman and his commitment to high technology are for them evidence enough that he will be inclined to be more pragmatic and rational than his mother and grandfather, pragmatism and rationalism being for them euphemism for free enterprise and free enterprise a euphemism for a friendlier attitude towards the west.

His first budget has convinced them that they were right in their assessment of him. This positive image will naturally give the Prime Minister a considerable advantage in his discussions with President Reagan and his aides when he goes to the United States in June.

Finally, it is a helpful coincidence that just as Mrs. Gandhi's visit to the United States in 1982 was followed by Attenborough's *Gandhi*, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's succession to her has been followed by the screening of Granada's 11-part *Jewel In The Crown* TV series and David Lean's *Passage To India* in that country. These too have reinforced a positive image of Indians. How strange the British should have contributed so much to promote our country in America. But history is full of such ironies.

India and the U.S.: A Special Moment

By Thomas P. Thornton

WASHINGTON — The Nehru family's visits to Washington have not been political successes. Even John F. Kennedy's enthusiasm for India was dampened by his encounter with Jawaharlal Nehru, and the 1971 visit of his daughter, the late Indira Gandhi, was described by Henry A. Kissinger as among the most unfortunate meetings Richard M. Nixon had with any foreign leader.

When Mrs. Gandhi's son and successor, Rajiv, calls on President Reagan next month, expectations will be high, but neither will find it easy to meet them. If Mr. Reagan is to back up his words about democracy and free enterprise and limiting Soviet influence in Asia, he must reverse several trade and lending policies that work to India's disadvantage. And Prime Minister Gandhi must ask himself whether he wants to talk about the past — meaning Pakistan — or look toward a future based on shared economic interests.

Mr. Gandhi's policies favoring private enterprise and foreign investment open up possibilities for collaboration. Indians and Americans have high hopes that could lead to improvement in strained political relations. But in the short run these are fragile expectations. The Indian move toward liberalization remains a far cry from what Americans understand as an open economic system. And while reduced trade barriers can benefit American exporters, especially in electronics and computers, India

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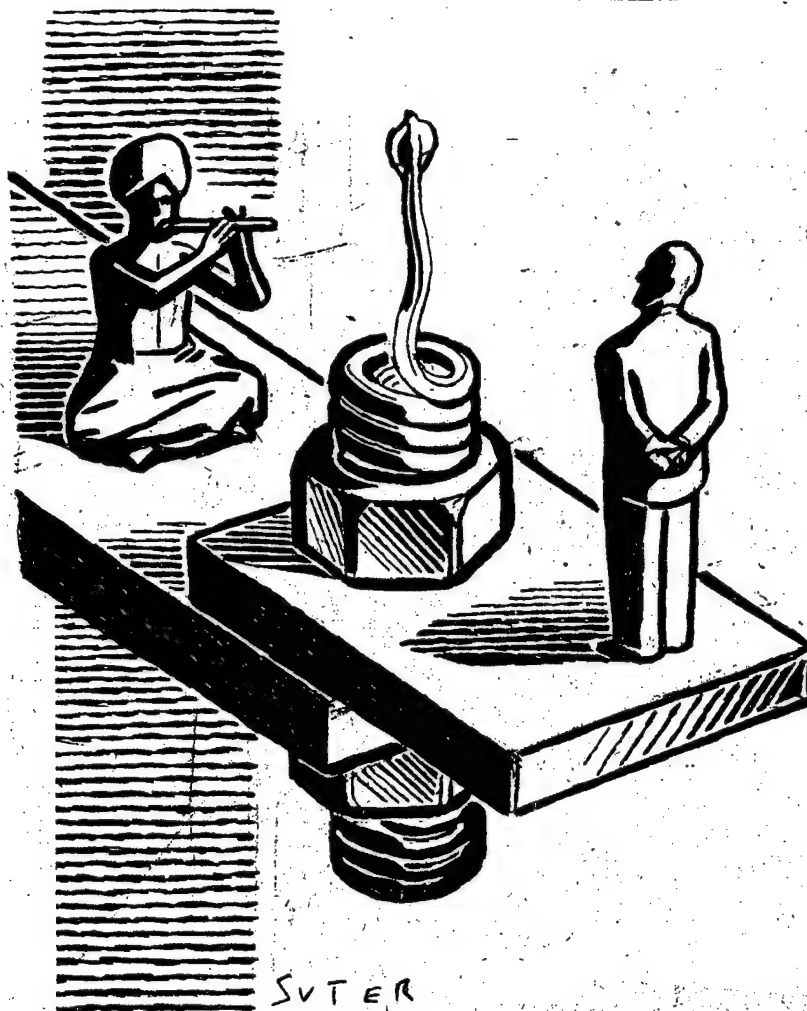
faces a foreign exchange squeeze and understandably looks to America for support, especially as it moves toward economic policies we have long recommended.

It is hard to see at this point, however, where America is going to help. Neither large amounts of bilateral aid, nor opening American markets to Indian exports, is likely to gain support in Congress. Funds for India in the international lending institutions are declining — in part because of new demands by China and Africa, but also because our contributions are being cut back. Technology trans-

Gandhi's visit can break a dreary mold

fers and investment are largely in the control of our private sector, not the Government.

American hopes of a rapid Indian shift away from the Soviet Union are vain: the tie to Moscow is simply too important for India to jeopardize. When Mr. Gandhi calls for improved relations with Washington, he is not talking of anything. India might need to do but calling on us to change our policies, especially military supply to Pakistan. His Government recently signed a joint communiqué in Kabul, Afghanistan (of all places) expressing concern over the deteriorating security environment in the south Asian and Indian Ocean region resulting from the introduction of sophisticated



arms and increasing militarization of the area — code words aimed at American policy, not at the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

If this sort of thing foreshadows Mr. Gandhi's approach, the session will take its place as one more in the sad history of Indians and Americans talking past and irritating each other. Yet India and America are at a special and promising moment. American interest in India has never been higher and Mr. Gandhi has begun a process of change that can provide the long-term basis for a better political understanding. Both countries are uniquely open to each other, and if they look to the future instead of the past, this summit meeting can break the dreary mold of its predecessors.

For Prime Minister Gandhi, it offers an opportunity to project the image of the new and changing India and convince a skeptical American private sector that it is a welcome

partner in India's development. For President Reagan, it is an opportunity to overcome some barriers of mistrust — to convince the Indians that we share a common strategic interest in the stability of south Asia and that we understand and support their reasonable political and economic ambitions — and expect the same in return.

India is only one of many claimants on our resources and concerns. But the political and economic rewards can be substantial. The high cards Mr. Reagan holds in dealing with Rajiv Gandhi, no less than with Deng Xiaoping, are economic and technological. This is an opportunity to play them as a modest start toward the kind of long-term relationship we want. □

U.S. Hopes And Gandhi

Strong Ties Expected Despite Trip to Soviet

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, May 26 — Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's enthusiastic overture to the Soviet Union last week has produced a shudder of disappointment among American diplomats here. These diplomats have been engaged in

News Analysis

the most aggressive attempt in years to improve relations between the United States and India.

But they and others said they were convinced Mr. Gandhi would still use his visit to the United States in June to strengthen Indian-American friendship. They argued that his comments in Moscow were in most respects a predictable reiteration of longstanding policies.

According to these experts, the Prime Minister's visit to the Soviet Union underscores his determination to chart an independent course, keep people guessing and advance a particular view of Indian self-interest, even if it means irritating those from whom he seeks economic or military assistance.

This was the practice perfected by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, whose assassination last Oct. 31 thrust her son Rajiv into power.

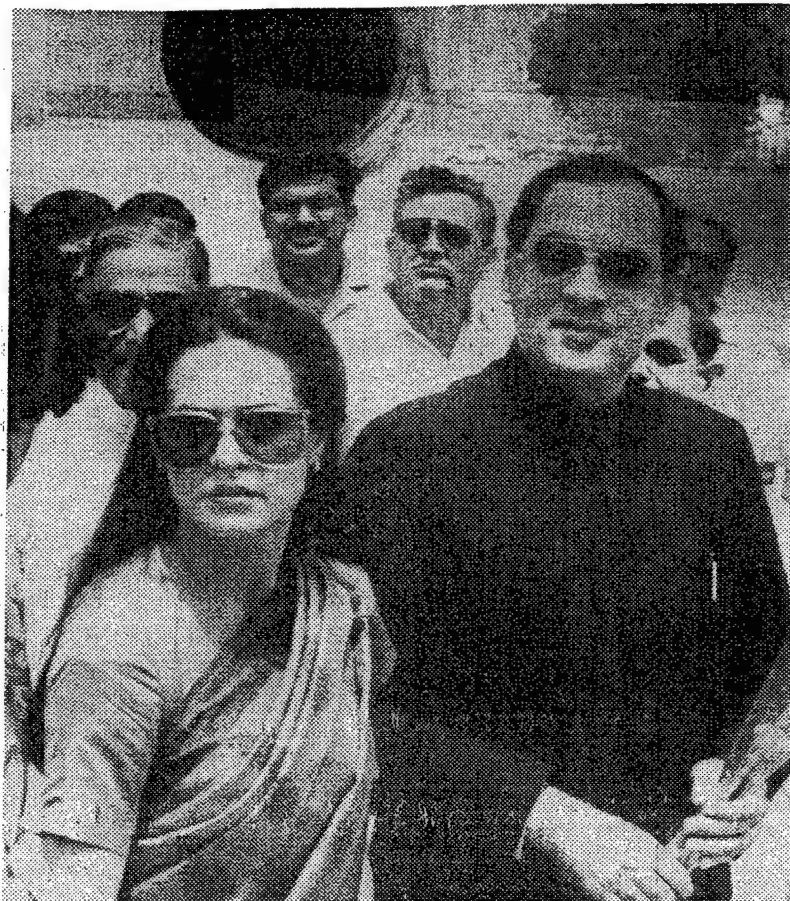
In Moscow, on his first major overseas trip as Prime Minister, Mr. Gandhi concluded a \$1.15 billion package of trade and investment credits from the Soviet Union. He also expressed gratitude for Soviet friendship and criticized the United States position on arms control and aid to Pakistan.

No Criticism on Afghanistan

As Mrs. Gandhi did before him, he declined to criticize Soviet actions in Afghanistan, other than to say at a news conference that India opposed all interventions in foreign countries.

Returning from the Soviet Union today, Mr. Gandhi told reporters that he would tell President Reagan that he opposed the Administration's program to develop a space missile defense system. "Star Wars" is taking the nuclear war into a new dimension," he said.

After years of weathering Mrs. Gandhi's bitter criticisms of United States policies, some American offi-



Reuters

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India and his wife, Sonia, arriving yesterday in New Delhi after a six-day visit to the Soviet Union.

cials were reported to have felt that Mr. Gandhi might be different.

A senior American official said recently that at Mrs. Gandhi's funeral, Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher of Britain discussed the matter and agreed to a major effort to woo the 40-year-old Mr. Gandhi away from India's longtime friendship with Moscow.

Two Key Trading Partners

India is Moscow's principal trade partner among the less developed nations, with more than \$3 billion a year in exchanges. But India's largest trading partner is the United States, with \$4 billion in exchanges annually.

Many in the West were clearly struck by Mr. Gandhi's reputation as a practical-minded problem-solver impatient with traditional ways of doing things and eager to harness Western technology for India's needs.

His first months in office gave Western diplomats more cause for hope. Especially noteworthy were his dismissal of most of his mother's key advisers and his promotion of an eco-

nomic program that reduced taxes, tariffs and Government regulations.

The Government has tried in other ways to improve the climate for private investment and has negotiated an important accord permitting India to import high technology items from the United States.

There appears now to have been a backlash here against the euphoria generated in some circles by the belief that Mr. Gandhi was moving India

away from its traditional path of socialism and friendship with Moscow.

Indeed, a comment by President Reagan this month in Madrid that Mr. Gandhi might bring "an economic revolution in India" was widely disseminated and criticized here. Some American officials appeared to wince at the Reagan hyperbole, apparently fearful that it would discourage Mr. Gandhi from doing more.

A senior American official said last week that it was too soon to tell whether Mr. Gandhi might even have to withdraw some of the economic revisions already announced. The official noted

that the Prime Minister had already "backtracked rhetorically" when he agreed to a ringing reaffirmation of socialism in a recent declaration by the governing Congress Party.

"There are two schools of thought," the official said of this reaffirmation. "One is that he is under severe pressure from critics, and that he really might have to go easy now. The other is that he was being awfully clever, feeding rhetoric to his critics with no intention of changing course."

Economy Highly Regulated

Despite Mr. Gandhi's changes, the Indian economy remains highly regulated. Taxes are so high and pervasive that half the country's economic activity is thought by some experts to have gone underground, with payments made illicitly to avoid taxation.

In foreign policy, a senior aide to Mr. Gandhi said it was foolish of the West to think that the Prime Minister's housecleaning and economic program portended a basic change in outlook.

"There was never any question of relations with the Soviet Union being diluted in any way," the aide said. "I think ideologues of the left and right are looking for these changes, in part because they didn't like Mrs. Gandhi."

Soviet-Indian friendship is rooted in many things. Among them have been Moscow's support for India in its conflicts with Pakistan and huge amounts of economic and military aid pouring in since the 1950's.

Moscow is almost universally portrayed in the press and political circles here as a loyal friend. American aid to Pakistan is almost universally viewed as a threat to India. Few experts expect this to change.

Softening in Tone Detected

Yet in recent weeks, some Western analysts say they have detected a slight but significant softening in tone by India. The shift is traced only in part to India's heightened interest in obtain-

ing American high technology for its military.

More important, senior American diplomats say they discover a greater willingness by Indian officials to express misgivings, if only in private, about the presence of more than 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

In conversation with Americans, Indian officials now reportedly argue that the United States has only been stiffening Soviet resolve to keep its troops in place, which leaves the assumption that the Indians agree the soldiers should be removed.

The Americans regard this as a vast improvement over earlier arguments that the Russians were in Afghanistan because Kabul "invited" them.

Standard Line Repeated

But in an interview with Newsweek published today, Mr. Gandhi reiterated the standard Indian formula, saying that Soviet troops had been invited into Afghanistan. He also asserted that American covert aid to the Afghan rebels was keeping the Russians there.

"I can't see the Soviets leaving Afghanistan with the kind of aid being given to the Mujahedeen," or rebels, Mr. Gandhi said.

Diplomats and others caution against exaggerating the significance of whispers of change. But American officials clearly hope such matters can be discussed and expanded upon during Mr. Gandhi's visit to Washington.

Making a new start

By Pran Chopra

THE ground for Mr Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the United States has been well prepared by both sides in a series of high level exchanges of views. Mr Gandhi himself had a good meeting in Moscow at the time of the Chernenko funeral with the US Vice-President, Mr Bush. A few weeks ago an expert survey of the Indian terrain was attempted by no less than Dr Henry Kissinger. The US Secretary for Trade and top level defence department officials will have contributed their readings before Mr Gandhi's departure.

EXPECTATIONS

This is as it should be. The governments of both countries are taking Mr Gandhi's visit seriously as an occasion for reassessing each other and the relations between them. Mr Rajiv Gandhi has very clearly stepped up his expression of India's concern over the supply of US arms to Pakistan in quantities and of a sophistication which India believes to be greatly in excess of Pakistan's legitimate defensive needs. By his reiterations Mr Gandhi has notified America that this matter is high on his agenda.

Expectations are apparently running high in both countries. In the US because people in Washington see Mr Rajiv Gandhi as a person of modern and liberal economic views with whom American enterprise can do business. In New Delhi because it is widely believed here that India has at last made a place for itself on the map of American consciousness and its point of view has a good audience in the US.

Expectations, however, are slippery. Walk slowly and steadily, and you may get somewhere in the course of time. Rush headlong and you will very likely hurt yourself. America can slip if it expects too much of India, for example in the form of changes in India's developmental strategy and therefore changes in policies towards foreign private capital, and India can slip if it expects too much of America in terms of — and these are the main subject of the present comment — the supply of US arms to Pakistan.

A recent visit to the United States gave one an opportunity for extensive conversations with people at senior levels in the policy making establishment in Washington, including the highest level officials directly dealing with South Asia as a whole, and with numerous India and South Asia watchers in US academia, including some notables who have recently transited between the academic and official worlds. The supply of US arms to Pakistan figured in all of them and have left on one's mind the very clear impression, that while much is attainable in this respect during Mr Gandhi's visit or as a result of it, too much striving for the unattainable will jeopardise it.

Whatever its past ups and downs, the security relationship between the United States and Pakistan at present stands very stably upon three legs. The first is the presence of 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The second is the deep US commitment to forcing Soviet troops out of Afghanistan or alternatively to making the Soviet Union pay as heavy a price as can be imposed upon it for keeping them there. The third is the role that Pakistan is seen to be playing in the fulfilment of this commitment.

So long as this policy tripod is steady, what the US sees as the security of Pakistan — whether it sees that right or wrong is a different matter — will remain such a high priority concern with it that regardless of how much it hurts or annoys India the United States will continue to arm Pakistan in the name of the latter's security.

It follows from this, and was also made explicit, that this situation can change only if one or more of the following changes occur:

The Soviet Union withdraws its forces from Afghanistan either because it does not need to keep them there any longer or can no longer pay the price it has to pay for keeping them there. Or....

The Soviet Union refuses to budge and the United States gives up the game, a contingency which could arise if China and the Soviet Union really made up with each other. Or....

Pakistan stops playing the role of a "front line state" because of the growing pressure of public opinion against it in Pakistan. Or....

RESPONSIBILITIES

The United States finds some other country which is more willing and better able to play the role than Pakistan, and then either abandons Pakistan or decides to relieve it of the responsibilities of the role.

In any one or more of these circumstances the United States could decide that it was no longer necessary for it to go on arming Pakistan at the cost of continuing to annoy and alienate India, a country obviously of greater consequence in South Asia than any other. The only exception is Pakistan, and that too only in the given context of Afghanistan. If the context changes this exception also vanishes.

But these are not contingencies which India can do very much to bring about. Soviet and US policies towards Afghanistan, or Soviet and Chinese policies towards each other will be shaped by the countries concerned, in their own interests, not by India or in India's interest. No country in the close neighbourhood of Afghanistan can perform Pakistan's present role as well as Pakistan is performing it at present, however dissatisfied the United States might be about it.

Therefore any very great scaling down of US arms supplies to Pakistan cannot be brought about by anything that India can say during Mr Rajiv Gandhi's visit to the US or by anything India can do later as a result of the visit. A strident Indian demand for such scaling down in the present context of the Afghan problem is precisely what would turn out to be, in retrospect, an unrealistic pursuit of the unattainable which would jeopardise the attainable.

TENSIONS

What is attainable is some lesser scaling down, and that too only very gradually, in proportion as India acts in two different but mutually reinforcing ways, both fully supportive of India's own interests. One is to lessen Pakistan's fear of its military safety along the Indo-Pakistan border. The second is to so act politically towards and in concert with the other countries of this region as to stabilise the

region both against external disturbances and destabilising inter-country tensions.

Supplies to Pakistan that are genuinely related to its allotted role on its western flank in US interests will not be affected. But it could affect those supplies which Pakistan is able to coax out of the US ("blackmail out of us" as an American scholar put it) in the name of its western role, but really because it wants to build up its eastern flank.

It is recognised in Washington that India has said much in the last few months which should be reassuring to its neighbours. As one very senior official put it, "We have taken note of the new tune in New Delhi," and more important, he added "we note that India's neighbours have taken note of it too." In response to the new tune some gestures may be made during Mr Rajiv Gandhi's visit, especially in the form of an offer to sell India arms and technologies which have been denied to it so far. But whether or when more will be done will depend upon what more Mr Rajiv Gandhi promises to do. Matching promises will be made, but performance will be held on leash pending performance by the other side.

This game will call for caution and skill by both parties. Since broken promises can become obstinate impediments to relations in future, each side should make only those which it can realistically hope to fulfil. For India, however, this should offer no great difficulty provided it decides to act now in enlightened self-interest, not simply in obedience to outdated habits.

American expectations of India in relation to Afghanistan are far more realistic now than previously. No one expects India to join in shouting slogans against the Soviet Union or to shore up Pakistan's "role" or to ignore the stirrings of a new order of things which can be sensed within Pakistan.

Lack of any significant success of present US policies concerning Afghanistan and increasing awareness in Washington of the adverse consequences of these policies within Pakistan, have had a chastening effect upon what the US can realistically expect of India. Therefore, all that is now expected of India in respect of Afghanistan is that it should say out publicly, and perhaps in concert with the other countries in South Asia,

what India has been saying in private and says it has been saying in the ear of the Soviet Union too: that it is opposed to the continued presence of Soviet troops in Afghanistan.

What is expected of India in relation to Pakistan is an easing of mutual tensions, and in relation to the region an increase in the pace of economic cooperation and greater accommodation of the needs of India's neighbours. There is no conflict here between what suits India and what is expected of it.

ANXIETIES

There is a point of view here that if India eases Pakistan's anxieties on the border between the two countries, the Pakistani forces tied up there will become available for any adventures Pakistan might wish to indulge in on the western side. But there is no substance in it. Pakistan will be able to improve its western defences, yes; but that is not an objective to which any sane Indian can object. As for "adventures", whether against the Soviet Union or further west, Pakistan cannot sustain them for long no matter what forces it transfers from its eastern front. And nothing would prevent India from forcing reversal of these transfers if any adventure seriously affected it.

On the other hand it is an easier border with India which, more than anything else, will hasten those domestic changes in Pakistan which are bound to make the Pakistan government follow more independent domestic and foreign policies. This is a development which India should heartily welcome.

But whatever the prospects that Indian promises open up during Mr Gandhi's visit, they will only evoke reciprocal promises. Only actions will bring forth matching actions.

Robert S. McNamara

India: New Strengths . . .

Behind the reporting of the visit by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi is another important story, and one that has not been sufficiently told: the story of India's substantial economic progress.

Anyone who has spent time in India will realize that the key to the country's development is the rehabilitation of the villages—there are more than 600,000 of them—and participation of the rural poor in the development process. And that means unlocking India's great potential in agriculture, the mainstay of its economy.

I am one of those who believe that India's food production capacity, and its efforts to realize that capacity, has been grossly underestimated. During the past year, despite a mediocre monsoon, food grain produced by Indian farmers reached a record of 153 million tons, an increase of more than 100 percent above the 72 million tons produced in 1965 at the start of the "Green Revolution." In India today, the growth rate of agricultural output is above the population growth rate. The country is now capable of feeding its people through good and bad years; it is not only producing enough food, but it is also storing and distributing it effectively and at present has a surplus available for export.

To stimulate rice and wheat production, food policies in India were adjusted to balance the interest of the urban consumers, who wanted cheap food, and those of farmer-producers, who wanted to obtain reasonable prices for their crops. A liberalized pricing policy gave farmers the incentives to produce more and to raise their productivity. The threat of mass famine faded as these incentives began to work, along with an expansion of irrigation, improvements in the storage and marketing of food, and advances in agricultural research.

The drought that afflicted India in 1979-80, exacerbated by power shortages, would have meant mass famine in the 1960s. India suffered another drought in 1982. But because of the impressive agricultural performance, those two severe droughts did not bring about the famines that would certainly have occurred without these advances.

Liberalization of the Indian economy has begun to move forward on other fronts as well. Relaxation of restriction on imports, for example, has already introduced new elements of competition in India's industry. And a higher degree of competitiveness will certainly help to

strengthen an underdeveloped private sector and improve the country's export performance. Thus, prospects for India to attain consistently higher export growth rates are good despite a disappointing average growth of about 4 percent annually during the past four years—caused in part by the global recession.

India's recent economic strategy also emphasized efficient use of energy and speedy development of domestic energy resources. India's dependence on oil imports declined from 63 percent of consumption in 1979 to about 37 percent in 1983; this year, it is expected to drop to 30 percent.

In general, India managed its economy pru-



dently and carefully throughout the prolonged recession that plagued the global economy. As a result, today it is not handicapped by a debt prob-

lem. The country has achieved a yearly growth rate of 5.1 percent, quite close to the target of 5.2 percent set in its plan covering the five years to March 1985. The underpinning of this growth has been the very high rate of investment, sustained largely by domestic savings.

In assessing India's economic performance, it has to be recognized that the role of foreign economic aid has been modest. External resources have accounted for only about 7 percent of total development funds. But these and other aid funds are crucial for the overall "mix" of India's development financing. With per-capita income of only \$260, India still belongs to the poorest group of countries in the world.

The better life that Rajiv Gandhi wants for India's poor, and envisions as well for the impoverished peoples of other countries, deserves our support, including support for the financing of such activities as the International Development Association, the World Bank's concessional lending affiliate.

With such external assistance, there is no reason why India should not continue to demonstrate economic progress at home and be a convincing voice persuading the world at large what global economic cooperation can do for the developing world.

The writer is a former president of the World Bank.

Selig S. Harrison

... And Old Irritations

The Reagan administration has made a significant gesture to Rajiv Gandhi in the prelude to his visit this week by taking cautious exploratory steps to liberalize exports of American high technology to India. But high tech alone will not bring geopolitical payoffs for America in New Delhi unless this country rules out new commitments of India-focused military equipment to Pakistan, following fulfillment of its existing \$1.5 billion arms aid agreement next year.

Rajiv Gandhi's emergence offers an unprecedented opportunity to reverse the present dangerous drift in Indo-American relations because it coincides with India's economic emergence into the high-tech age.

The potential for Indo-U.S. economic cooperation is expanding as India's burgeoning industries seek computers and electronic technology from the United States, Western Europe and Japan—technology the Soviet bloc does not possess.

Given a favorable political climate, growing economic interdependencies would help to draw India away from its present Soviet-tilted brand of nonalignment. But barring a shift in military aid policy, the political and psychological distance between India and the United States is likely to grow. New Delhi will increasingly perceive a geopolitical community of interest with the Soviet Union and will view the United States, in turn, as the principal barrier to its ambitions for regional preeminence. In such a climate, while New Delhi will no doubt take as much American high technology as it can get, the United States will not receive significant political benefits from a relaxation of high-tech export controls.

India's nonaligned foreign policy is not designed to achieve equidistance between the superpowers but rather to make use of the superpowers to promote Indian interests, even if this means temporarily leaning in one direction or the other. For more than three decades, the Soviet Union has identified itself with Indian regional aspirations, while the United States has generally sided with Pakistan and China. India has adapted to this situation by frequently tilting toward the Soviet Union. Conversely, if the United States were to give greater recognition to Indian regional primacy, India would gradually modify its posture in the decades ahead.

So far, New Delhi has carefully stopped short of de facto military collaboration with Moscow, but it would be unwise to assume such restraint will continue to govern Indian policy regardless

of the nature of U.S. policies toward Pakistan. An atmosphere of xenophobic resentment is building up among many key Indian military and political figures. In time, as Indian naval power continues to grow, U.S. military access to the Indian Ocean will be increasingly affected by the climate of U.S. relations with New Delhi.

To some extent it was possible for Indians to forgive and forget after the first \$1 billion U.S. military aid agreement with Pakistan in the 1950s. The United States was, after all, a newcomer on the Asian scene and had shown good will toward India through its economic help. President Eisenhower had given a formal undertaking that U.S. weapons were intended solely for use against communist aggressors, pledging the United States would not permit their use against India.

This time administration officials are not seeking to justify American arms aid to Pakistan solely in terms of the threat posed by Soviet forces in Afghanistan. On the contrary, they acknowledge that Islamabad wants American help primarily to strengthen itself vis-a-vis New Delhi, and they have pointedly declined to give either public or private promises that the United States would seek to prevent its weaponry from being used against India.

Recalling the dispatch of the USS Enterprise to the Bay of Bengal during the 1971 Bangladesh war, many Indians fear intervention in any new Indo-Pakistani conflict by the U.S. carrier battle group now stationed permanently in the northern Arabian Sea. At the very least, they fear, the United States could share intelligence with Islamabad without New Delhi's even knowing.

Conceivably, some form of U.S. military involvement in South Asia could become necessary in the context of growing tensions on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border. But President Reagan should reassure India that the mission of the carrier battle group relates to the protection of U.S. interests in Afghanistan and the Gulf and that it would not be used to support Pakistan in any South Asian conflict limited to India and Pakistan. The president should also serve notice that the United States will not provide Pakistan with weaponry primarily suited for use on the Indian border, including more F16s and heavy tanks and E2 "mini-AWACS." Gandhi, for his part, should be prepared to live with selective U.S. help for Pakistan on the Afghan frontier in ways that do not threaten India, such as light tanks and howitzers, mobile radar and certain types of air defense systems.

The United States should seek to avoid entanglement in the military aspects of this rivalry, especially in the context of the growing nuclear competition between New Delhi and Islamabad.

Such a detached posture would be difficult to maintain if an escalating conflict in Afghanistan led to stepped-up Soviet military pressures on Pakistan. Thus, both the United States and India should give unambiguous support to the United Nations mediation efforts on Afghanistan resuming June 20 in Geneva, so that Soviet readiness for a combat force withdrawal can be put to the test. So far, the United States has refused to accept a Soviet force withdrawal that would leave the present Kabul regime in place, at least initially, as envisaged in the U.N. formula. India has often acted as if a withdrawal of foreign support for the Afghan resistance would automatically ensure a Soviet withdrawal. New Delhi has not pushed Moscow to accept the U.N. formula, which would require a force withdrawal within a defined time period, orchestrated with the cessation of other foreign involvement.

What is needed is serious and urgent support for the U.N. effort by both the United States and India, together with a redefinition of U.S. military aid to Pakistan. In the absence of greater harmonization of policies throughout the South Asian region, the prospects for any basic improvement in Indo-American relations appear bleak.

The writer, a senior associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and former correspondent in India for The Post, is the author of four books on Asian affairs.

A New Chance With India

When Rajiv Gandhi arrives in Washington tomorrow for his first visit as India's Prime Minister, there will be ample reason for good will. There are no real quarrels between the most populous and the most powerful of the world's democracies — no hard disputes over territory, trade or ideology. Yet for all the good will, a granule of sour suspicion will linger in the air, the legacy of a long-strained relationship.

The time is right for a frank examination of those strains. Mr. Gandhi is the first Indian Prime Minister to come of political age after independence in 1947. Inheriting the office when his mother was murdered last October, he went on to earn it in an impressive landslide in December. He arrives when America's interest in India is at high tide, thanks to films, television and the coast-to-coast cultural festival he came to inaugurate.

This sympathy is reciprocal. The Bhopal disaster did not ignite anti-American riots, only lawsuits against Union Carbide. Mr. Gandhi favors more American investment, and his talks with President Reagan are expected to confirm an agreement to ease technology transfers. So why do countries that officially speak the same language so often talk at cross-purposes?

The short answer is a different perception of what constitutes evenhandedness. The abiding Indian lament is that Washington repeatedly tilts to

Pakistan, a dictatorship thirsting to match India's nuclear capability, an adversary suspected by Indians of abetting Sikh separatism in the Punjab. The abiding American lament is that India too often tilts to Moscow, as typified by Mr. Gandhi's excuses for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Both complaints have merit. In its anxiety about Pakistan's exposure to Soviet operations in Afghanistan, for example, Washington has favored it with a generous \$3.2 billion aid package, including advanced aircraft that might one day be directed against India. But Mr. Gandhi did not invite sympathy when he recently repaid his Soviet hosts for their aid to him with the astonishing judgment that 120,000 Soviet troops were Afghanistan's "invited" guests.

A true resolution of these reciprocal complaints would find India finally waging a sustained campaign for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, in return for which the United States should indeed draw back from its support for Pakistan. Both countries may be dug in too deep to realize such a bargain, and India's affinity for the Soviet Union has its own logic, no matter who is Prime Minister.

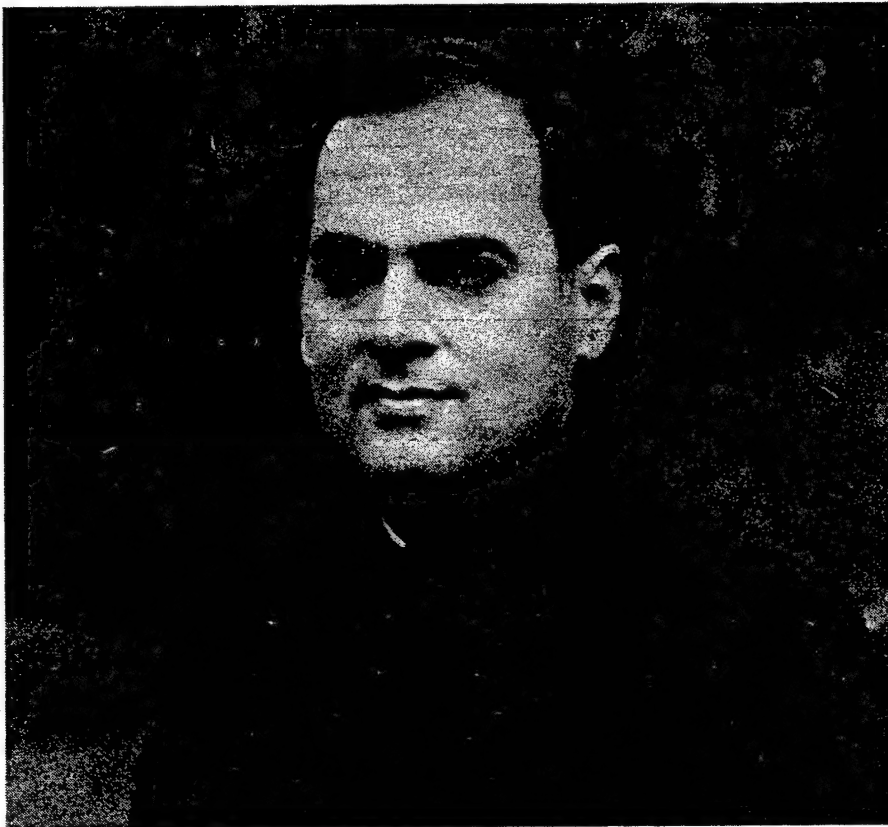
But if these differences cannot be quickly resolved, Rajiv Gandhi addresses them with less impatience than his formidable mother. At the least, his visit should open a more equable chapter in a contentious book.

U.S. House Of Representatives Passes Resolution Welcoming P.M. To U.S.

The U.S. House of Representatives has unanimously passed with concurrence of the Senate, a resolution welcoming the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi on his first state visit to America next week. The resolution was moved by the Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Dante Fascell.

from the contribution and creativity of over 400,000 Indians settled in the country. There is a vast potential for significant expansion of ties between the two countries, particularly in trade, investment and scientific cooperation, Mr. Fascell added.

Seconding the resolution, the Chairman of the House Sub-committee on Asian and



Addressing the House packed with Congressmen, Mr. Dante Fascell said that the United States and India share a common bond of friendship and adhere to democratic values. He said that the United States recognised the importance of a strong, unified and independent India as a source of stability in Asia. The United States has greatly benefited

Pacific Affairs, Mr. Stephen Solarz noted that the coming visit of Mr. Gandhi is a significant development. Another member of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Mr. Robert Carcia said that the Indian Prime Minister has shown himself to be a 'statesman'. "Mr. Gandhi," he said "has reaffirmed his commitment to democracy and it is for this reason, we honor him."

Significant Gesture

The unanimous passage by the U.S. House of Representatives, with the endorsement of the Senate, of a resolution welcoming the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, to America on his first official visit next month is not only a fine gesture but also an indication of the high political and economic stakes the U.S. is attaching to his trip. These have, if anything, been raised even further after the Prime Minister's journey to the Soviet Union where he and the Soviet leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachov, appear to have hit it off. The closeness of views and interests in a number of areas between the Soviet Union and India is, however, far from incompatible with establishing closer and happier Indo-U.S. relations than has generally been the case all these years. For both countries the present moment looks especially propitious for this purpose. For the U.S., Mr. Gandhi's assumption of office marks the advent of a leader whose youthfulness, working experience, commitment to modernisation and ideological pragmatism seem to hold out the promise of a greater accommodation of U.S. concerns and interests than was earlier possible. For India, modernisation of the kind and on the scale the Prime Minister envisages would be necessary to take the country into the 21st century can be facilitated if American help is available. As modernisation proceeds with economic liberalisation, the scope for U.S. involvement in Indian development could deepen. Mr. Gandhi's first budget won much praise in America and throughout the West for giving strong indications of such liberalisation.

It is not, of course, going to be as easy as that. The economic and political course India has charted since independence is dictated by, even as it has served, its interests and cannot be changed overnight. Nor are the Americans so eager to supply technological expertise as to be oblivious of their own interests. For instance, when the U.S. commerce secretary, Mr. Malcolm Baldrige, was in New Delhi recently, the agreement on implementation procedures for the recently approved memorandum of understanding on the transfer of U.S. high technology to India could not be signed in full because of provisions, to which India objected, for the non-use of U.S.-supplied computers for nuclear purposes. Politically, improving Indo-American ties will be even more challenging, given the different perceptions on key regional issues like Afghanistan, the role the U.S. has allotted Pakistan in south Asia in its anti-Soviet strategic consensus, and the arming of Pakistan with the most sophisticated weaponry. America's ostensible impotence in curbing Pakistan's nuclear ambitions is another legitimate cause for complaint by India. But while mending Indo-U.S. relations is a long haul, there is at least the readiness on both sides to make a start. It is as an earnest of its readiness that the U.S. is rolling out the red carpet for Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

Gandhi, Due in U.S. Today, Still Has Problems at Home

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, June 10 — Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, due in the United States on Tuesday, continues to enjoy popularity at home. But some of his associates are frustrated at the slow pace of progress in solving India's problems.

More than one political commentator in India has noted that Mr. Gandhi's recent travels reflect the standard practice of political leaders to shift their attentions to global concerns as a respite from problems at home.

Lately, Mr. Gandhi has been spending a lot of time on the road. Two weeks after returning from a six-day trip to the Soviet Union, he was off again for visits to Egypt, France and Algeria before his scheduled arrival in Washington. He is to stop in Geneva before returning to India next Monday.

Meanwhile, aides to Mr. Gandhi acknowledge that much of the urgency has gone out of their efforts to solve what most agree is India's biggest domestic crisis, the turmoil surrounding the demand by Sikhs for greater autonomy in the Punjab.

Anniversary of Temple Raid

Last week marked the first anniversary of the army raid on the Sikhs' holiest shrine, the Golden Temple in Amritsar, in which hundreds of Sikhs were killed. The raid was ordered by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi's mother, in response to bombings and killings by Sikh extremists, who had been using the temple as a sanctuary and arms depot.

Government officials feared there would be renewed bombings and killings by Sikh extremists to commemorate the Golden Temple raid. Even the less militant Sikhs leaders had called for agitations and demonstrations in honor of what they called "genocide week."

But perhaps because of a heightened army and police presence throughout northern India, especially in the state of Punjab, there has been little violence.

In an interview last week with reporters from American news organizations, Mr. Gandhi acknowledged that Government actions in the crisis were being held in abeyance.

"We're waiting to see for a response from them," he said of the Sikh leaders. "We're not talking to anyone at the moment."

Premier's Aides Frustrated

Many of the Prime Minister's associates have expressed frustration over the fact that concessions by the Government have failed to persuade Sikh leaders to sit down and negotiate a peaceful resolution of their demands. But Mr. Gandhi said he had been encouraged, at least, that most Sikh leaders had deplored the bombings by Sikh extremists last month, which killed more than 80 people in northern India.

Some of Mr. Gandhi's other initiatives also have recently seemed bogged down.

A long-promised package of educational changes is reportedly still being studied by officials. And many experts have recently wondered if the recent reaffirmation of socialism by the ruling Congress Party would lead to a slowdown in the effort to free the economy, of Government controls.

Last week, the Prime Minister's Government proposed a new textile policy, saying a range of regulations would be reviewed. The policy calls on greater latitude by industry leaders to determine what to produce, based on their view of the market.

Increasingly, the army has been used to quell disturbances. It was called out 175 times in the last year and a half, twice the number of times in the previous two years.

'Part of Development Process'

In the interview last week, Mr. Gandhi said he saw ethnic and sectarian violence as a product of progress in India, rather than the lack of it.

"I see it as really part of the development process, trying to do things in maybe 30 or 50 years that other countries have taken hundreds of years to do," he said. "Whenever there is such rapid change in society, tensions are bound to come up."

Mr. Gandhi continues to push for the importance of high technology in his country's future. In his visit to the United States, he and President Reagan may formalize an accord permit-

ting the United States to export American computers, lasers and other high technology items to India. Mr. Gandhi also plans to visit the space center in Houston to signal the increased cooperation between the two countries in space exploration.

In the interview, Mr. Gandhi said he was aware that many people had advised India to pay less attention to outer space and computers and more to the poverty of hundreds of millions of Indians.

"I think the people in Africa and Latin America have paid far too much attention to such advice," he said. "We think our way is correct."

It is not merely a matter of high technology's improving Indian self-sufficiency in agriculture and other areas, he went on, adding: "Apart from that, there has to be something that we are building up to. If you try and get the lowest common denominator for everything, then we're going to be more backward, and not progress at all."

Changes in Political Process

The Prime Minister's aides say the one breakthrough Mr. Gandhi has made was in changing the political process itself. They note with satisfaction his ouster of many of his mothers' old-line political advisers, and his successful effort to block hundreds of sitting legislators from running for re-election.

"There really is a breath of fresh air in regard to political corruption," a top aide said.

Equally more significant, Mr. Gandhi continues to win credit for his willingness to work with opposition leaders, despite their status as a tiny minority on the national level.

The Prime Minister conferred with leaders from other parties every step of the way in handling the Punjab situation. And instead of using his powers to enact his economic program and a recent antiterrorist bill by decree, he let these measures be debated and even amended in lengthy sessions in Parliament.

On the other hand, Mr. Gandhi has shown some of his mother's impatience with allies who don't see eye to eye with him. A squabble over patronage and others matters led last week to the abrupt resignation of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra.

The maneuvering over that political crisis occurred just as Mr. Gandhi was preparing to leave for his two-week trip abroad. It was another reminder that his forays into statesmanship were not removing him from domestic infighting and setbacks.

US and India: a 'turf' problem

By Jane Abell Coon

PRIME Minister Rajiv Gandhi will be visiting the United States in June. This first official visit by India's young leader will raise expectations of more constructive US relations with the world's largest democracy. But a word of caution is in order. There are subterranean stumbling blocks in the relations with India which are not easily removed and which in large measure account for the perennially prickly character of the US-Indian relationship. The problems between the two nations go deeper than the much-discussed issue of US military aid to Pakistan; they relate to India's fundamental regional security aspirations and policies.

For historic and strategic reasons, India sees its own security as indivisible from that of the entire subcontinent. As the largest power in the region, India considers itself to be ultimately responsible for the subcontinent's security and strives to insulate the region from outside intrusion by any of the big powers — the Soviet Union, China, or the US. Consistent with this fundamental policy tenet, New Delhi discourages linkages between the big powers and other South Asian countries and seeks to evolve a regional security arrangement of pliant neighbors that acknowledge India's leadership.

In sharp contrast, all of India's neighbors — Sri Lanka, Nepal, Bangladesh, and Pakistan — see India as the principal, though not the only, threat to their own security. To offset India's overwhelming presence, they all systematically cultivate links with outside powers. These links are not just a means of tweaking the elephant's tail, but reflect a deep urge for national integrity and survival.

Indians, however, see such ties as big-power trespassing on their subcontinental "turf," and the US is perceived as the principal offender. For many Indians, concern over the US role in the region is transmuted into suspicion of US conspiracies to undermine India. Soviet disinformation encourages such apprehensions.

Why is the US seen as a greater obstacle to India's regional aspirations than the Soviet Union, which has invaded and occupied South Asia's traditional buffer zone, Afghanistan? The answer lies in India's relations with the three major powers, the USSR, China, and the US. Since the late 1950s, India has seen China as a long-term

competitor and threat — a perception burned into the Indian psyche by the humiliating defeat in the Sino-Indian war of 1962. As the Sino-Soviet split widened, India and the USSR increasingly saw themselves as having common interests. US arms aid to Pakistan in the '50s, and the 1965 Indo-Pakistani war, reinforced India's doubts about Washington and also its conviction that close relations with Moscow served Indian interests. Soviet support in the 1971 war further confirmed this view, especially in light of the American threat manifested in the dispatch of the aircraft carrier Enterprise toward the Bay of Bengal.

The Soviets, moreover, have been India's principal supplier of sophisticated weapons, on highly concessional terms. Political backing has been forthcoming in United Nations forums. Economic assistance, while not generous, supported India's early predisposition toward a large-scale public sector.

From the Indian point of view, close relations with the

Indians are concerned about US ties to all the neighbors, but they object most to the US arms supply to Pakistan.

Soviet Union have consistently served important national interests without compromising Indian independence. India provides Moscow with political support on a number of issues, but Delhi has not granted tangible assets to the USSR, such as port facilities, or associated itself with Soviet security arrangements in Asia. Most outside observers would agree that India is no client state or proxy of Moscow.

Delhi's close relations with Moscow, however, prompt India's neighbors to look toward the US and China. This is not necessarily a matter of ideological affinity, but rather of pragmatic diplomatic efforts to enlist big-power support to offset dominant Indian influence — and for this purpose one does not turn to India's closest ally, the USSR. Delhi sees these external links as intended to counter India's influence — a perception that reinforces India's opposition to big-power "intrusion" in general and its suspicions of the US and China in particular.

Indians are concerned about US ties to all the neighbors, but they object most strenuously to the US arms supply to Pakistan. Beneath the surface, the present controversy is not about military hardware, but about what India sees as a US intrusion into India's security sphere. In the Indian view, US support, wittingly or unwittingly, encourages Pakistan to resist accommodation to an India-centered security arrangement on the subcontinent. This is perceived by many Indians as more threatening to India's regional dominance — and thus its own security — than the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

Some Americans would argue that US interests in South Asia would be adequately protected if the US recognized India as the region's security manager and guarantor. India, after all, is a major power and has a fundamental interest in keeping both the Soviet Union and China (as well as the US) from intruding into its security preserve.

Such an arrangement is anathema to India's neighbors, who fear that India's aspirations for regional leadership could infringe on their own freedom. Without a common perception of a shared threat, an Indian-managed security arrangement is not a viable proposition.

Rajiv Gandhi, after taking office, stated India's intention to improve relations with its neighbors. During Mr. Gandhi's visit to the US, Washington should stress its conviction that improved relations among South Asian countries not only are consistent with US interests in Asia but also could help erode that subterranean stumbling block to better Indian-American relations. The US recognizes that India is legitimately concerned with the security of the subcontinent, but in its view a viable security arrangement depends on the evolution of relations of mutual trust and confidence between India and its neighbors. Washington should also reaffirm that the US is not in the business of conspiring with neighbors against India. US interests in southern Asia and the Indian Ocean region depend in large measure on India's own unity, stability, and territorial integrity and on its stubborn resistance to becoming incorporated in any bloc.

Jane Abell Coon, formerly US ambassador to Bangladesh, is diplomat-in-residence at the American Enterprise Institute. These are her personal views.

LETTER FROM AMERICA

By WARREN UNNA in WASHINGTON

THERE have been a number of unusual preparatory steps lately which seem aimed at ensuring that Rajiv Gandhi's visit here from June 11 to 16 enhances Indo-American relations.

First, there have been the spate of visits by high U.S. officials to India—Fred Ikle, the Undersecretary of Defence for Policy; Verne Orr, the Secretary of the Air Force; the Cabinet-level Secretary of Commerce, Malcolm Baldrige. A bit earlier, there was the visit of Michael Aramcost, the U.S. Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs.

Last week, there was the unusual session in the White House in which India's economic elder statesman, L. K. Jha, was received by President Reagan himself, in company with the Secretary of State, George Shultz—a sort of dress rehearsal to prepare for the main event on June 12 between President Reagan and Mr. Gandhi.

For a Reagan Administration which has shown itself both uninterested and unfocused on the developing world—sometimes with India particularly in mind—this is not your run-of-the-mill procedure.

TARAPUR

But then neither was the preparation for the visit here in 1982 of Mrs. Gandhi. At that time, the Reagan Administration went out of its way to accomplish what four years of the presumably more sympathetic Carter Administration had failed at: finding a solution for keeping India's American-built Tarapur nuclear power plant in operation. The Reagan Administration appealed to the French to supply the enriched uranium fuel the USA, because of the restrictions of its Nuclear Non-proliferation Act, could no longer supply.

At that time, two pairs of unseen hands were rumoured to be working for Mrs. Gandhi's successful visit, those of the U.S. Vice-President, George Bush, and the U.S. Ambassador to India, Harry Barnes. The Bush role seemed to be the key because the White House just does not bestir itself without a very high-level push.

Now, these same two pairs of hands reportedly are again moving things. Only this time, Vice-President Bush the "heir apparent" for the Republican Party presidential nomination after Mr. Reagan's term expires in 1989, is more in the open. He visited India a year ago and had a get-acquainted session with the new Indian Prime Minister this March in Moscow at the funeral for the Soviet leader, Konstantin Chernenko. He suggested that he guide India's most prominent pilot in a tour of the U.S. space centre in Mr. Bush's political home base of Texas. Accordingly, the Prime Minister and his party will be overnighing in Houston and transported back and forth from Washington on Mr. Bush's personal plane, Air Force 2.

Mr. Gandhi's new-generation image and his reputation as being both a pilot and a man interested in technological advancement would have an automatic appeal in America in any event. And Vice-President Bush has a varied enough background to be particularly interested. He has been an oil industry entrepreneur, a U.S. Congressman, head of the U.S. diplomatic mission to China, Ambassador to the U.N., head of the Republican Party, director of the CIA, and a presidential candidate in his own right.

Any U.S. Vice-President desirous of being confided in and useful to a President has to work discreetly behind the scenes.

Vice-President Bush has had an additional need to do this since, from the onset, the "Reaganites" resented his having been allowed to be the President's running mate. They considered him dangerously liberal. He never has been a liberal on the American political spectrum, but rather a pragmatic conservative. Now Mr. Reagan's ultra-conservative backers are beginning to reconcile themselves to this.

This gives the Vice-President more freedom to act on behalf of a passive President. More unexpected is the initiative of one of the conservative Pentagon's leading conservatives, Undersecretary Ikle, in saying the unusual things he said earlier this month at the conclusion of his Delhi visit.

"India could be a power that contributes to a world stability the way the U.S. will see it and want to shape it 10 to 20 years from now, and a power with which we can work together much as we try to work together with other major powers now to enhance our long-term national security aims. And that, I think, is an exciting possibility and perhaps (opens) a new chapter in U.S.-Indian relations... It is something I personally want to explore seriously", Mr. Ikle declared. He also repeated the more conventional view that it is to U.S. interests to help make India less dependent upon the Soviet Union, particular in regard to arms.

In an interview back in Washington after the trip, a member of Mr. Ikle's party went even further: "The principal objective of the trip was to try to warm up with India, to try to wean them from a complete dependence on the Soviet Union. We cannot replace the Soviet Union as a supplier of arms on a competitive commercial basis, or even on a competitive political basis. It would cost too much. India has a one-million-man army. The problem, rather, is how to get India to focus on its role as a potential great power. India is to South Asia as the USA is to North America. Over the long run, we think there is a common interest. We both are interested in world stability. Both States are status-quo powers—we're not trying to sponsor revolutions elsewhere. Neither of us is interested in the breaking up of Pakistan. Neither of us is interested in having a Soviet fleet in the Indian Ocean. And we appreciate that India is not interested in getting into a future border conflict with the Soviet Union, or in having the Soviets put a pincer movement on the Pakistanis by both sea and land", this seasoned South Asian expert declared.

EMPHASIS

Although some interpreted the Ikle visit to India as an arms selling expedition, the real emphasis, both in preparation and actual performance, was on trying to clear the bureaucratic underbush, in both the USA and India, which has held back the transfer of U.S. advanced technology to India. There reportedly was an accumulation of some 33 specific items—computers, lasers, sensors—scattered among a number of "interest" lists compiled by India's various armed services and scientific departments. And Mr Ikle was able to unsnag various U.S. departmental objections to perhaps half of these items—but from the low end of the spectrum of advanced technology. Not, for instance, a Pentagon o.k. for India to explore the purchase of the U.S. F-20 fighter bomber which the American Northrop Corporation

has been trying to sell—but which India, so far, has not been too interested in anyway.

The member of the Ikle party visiting India emphasized that there never had been the apprehension that India was prepared to pass on to the Russians any U.S. advanced technology she contracted for—which apparently has been a problem with U.S. advanced technology transferred to such countries as Japan and Sweden. Rather, it was explained, the USA has been seeking from India some hard assurance that, if she does obtain U.S. advanced technology, she will take steps to guard against aggressive Soviet technological espionage.

"All we wanted was an assurance from Indians that they would take this initiative, and only for two to four years, because you can't stop it beyond that. In the past, India had said this infringed on her sovereignty. That was an excuse. We didn't have that problem with other countries. And we don't have that with the Indians now," this Pentagon source disclosed.

BUREAUCRACY

He also said that the Ikle mission tried to emphasize to Indian officials that when they do make a request for specific U.S. advanced technology, it would help things to explain why it is needed—so that if the U.S. manufacturer does not happen to have that specific item, he at least could provide alternatives which might meet the same requirement.

"We tried to set up a relationship so that in our bureaucracy there would be a friendly reception with their bureaucracy," it was explained.

The transfer of advanced technology issue is not home free yet. After all, the original memorandum of understanding was initialled as far back as last November. The implementation procedures were initialled only this month in Delhi during the visit of the U.S. Commerce Secretary, Mr. Baldrige, the official whose department is paramount over both the U.S. departments of Defence and State in granting final approval. The "dual use" potential of non-military U.S. technology, particularly in computers, being applicable for weaponry still causes apprehensions in the Pentagon.

But more formal and final approval now is expected as one of the actual accomplishments during the forthcoming meeting of Mr Gandhi with President Reagan.

"It's a new India, a new Prime Minister. He is a technologist, an airline pilot. He has an interest in seeing India modernize itself at a very advanced level. His mother was a Fabian Socialist", the Pentagon South Asian expert explained.

At the U.S. Treasury, which has a big say on how the Reagan Administration responds to the needs of the big international institutions—the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund—a South Asian expert there was equally upbeat on India's new-generation Prime Minister. He applauded his early economic liberalization measures—opening up imports, lowering taxes, shifting from the public to the private sector. Only he indicated that the Reagan Administration, which is convinced its laissez-faire "Reaganomics" is the best economic tonic for the world at large as well as for domestic America, would like to see Mr Gandhi move even more of his country's economy out of the public sector.

GP in PM's team for US

From Rita Manchanda

New Delhi, May 30: Mr G. Parthasarathy, chairman of the policy planning committee in the ministry of external affairs, has finally been included in the Prime Minister's official entourage to Washington.

His name was not in the preliminary list of delegates, leading to speculation that Mr Parthasarathy, who had accompanied Mr Rajiv Gandhi to Moscow, was being "diplomatically" dropped from the official party going to the US. Mr Parthasarathy was closely associated with the development of Mrs Indira Gandhi's "special relationship" with the USSR.

Reinforcing rumours in the capital about Mr Parthasarathy's temporary eclipse was the fact that Mr L.K. Jha had been sent to Washington last week as the Prime Minister's special envoy to work out with American officials the agenda for the forthcoming talks. He had also carried a special message from the Prime Minister for President Ronald Reagan.

In the quiet but earnest tussle for power in South Block, although the dour Mr Parthasarathy is said to have been pitted

against the flamboyant foreign secretary, Mr Romesh Bhandari, it had become increasingly evident that Mr Parthasarathy's real rival was none other than Mr Jha.

A former ICS officer, it was under Mr Jha that the office of the principal secretary to the Prime Minister first acquired importance during the period of Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri (1964-66) and Mrs Gandhi. As India's ambassador to the US, Mr Jha developed extensive links with the American establishment and multilateral lending agencies. He was often called upon by Mr Gandhi to advise her on the effect of Indian policies on multilateral aid flow.

The economic policies of Mr Rajiv Gandhi and the importance of expanding relationship with the US are said to bear Mr Jha's imprint. But Mr Parthasarathy is believed to be much more skeptical about the scope for a wide-ranging relationship with the US so long as their strategic interests clash.

However, ministry circles close to Mr Parthasarathy point out that it was when he was Mrs Gandhi's advisor on foreign policy that the decision to explore the possibility of a wider rela-

tionship with the US was taken. It culminated in Mrs Gandhi's visit to Washington in 1982 during which it was agreed in principle to conclude a memorandum of understanding on transfer of high technology.

PM-Mitterrand talks

The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, is expected to have four rounds of talks with the French President, Mr Francois Mitterrand, during his three-day official visit to France, beginning June 6.

Several bilateral and international issues will figure in the talks the North-South dialogue, the 'star wars' threat, disarmament and the deliberations at the recently concluded summit of seven industrialised nations are among the issues. The two leaders are also likely to exchange views on the situation in Lebanon, the Palestine issue and the Gulf war.

Mr Gandhi will also witness a display by the highly sophisticated French fighter aircraft, the Mirage 2000, which is likely to be added to the IAF fleet shortly. He will also visit salon du Bourget (an exhibition of aircraft), where the latest French planes are on display.

Jha briefs PM on talks with Reagan

New Delhi, May 30 (UNI): Mr L.K. Jha, who went to the United States to the United States to prepare for the Prime Minister's official visit to that country beginning June 11, called on Mr. Rajiv Gandhi here today.

Mr Jha is understood to have reported to Mr Gandhi about his discussions with the US President, Mr Ronald Reagan, and other American leaders on important matters that are likely to figure at the summit between Mr Reagan and Mr Gandhi.

Mr Jha, who was in Washington as Mr Gandhi's special envoy is also believed to have briefed the Prime Minister on the latest thinking of the US Administration on technology transfer and concessional aid flows to India.

Mr Jha is reported to have discussed in depth the question of diversifying Indo-US cooperation in science and technology and in other spheres.

He had a separate meeting with the US secretary of state, Mr George Shultz, and exchanged views on major international issues like disarmament, the militarisation of the Indian Ocean and developments in the Asian continent.

Indian Elite's New Mecca

The U.S. Displaces Britain

By PRAFUL BIDWAI

GROWING exposure to the United States of America has been a crucially important influence in the shaping of the values and attitudes of the Indian elite, particularly its English-educated, English-speaking, superficially westernised urban middle-class strata in recent years.

Indeed, for the Indian elite, the U.S. has over the past decade-and-a-half decisively displaced Britain as the main locus of its encounter with the west, as the principal representative or paradigm of the first world and its culture, as the chief source of ideas associated with western modernism and as the quintessential social-political-economic model of what the western world stands for.

Whether the elite is right in according to the U.S. such a unique and elevated status or not, that country does now enjoy it. This is a consequence not merely of the hegemonic position of the U.S. in the west or in the world as a whole — which is much older — but also, and more importantly, of the decline of Britain as an economic and political power since the war and of the loosening of the colonial bonds between that country and India over the past two decades.

There are numerous indices of the growth of the American contact with and influence upon the Indian elite. Whether it is economic relations and trade, technical collaboration in numerous fields, academic discourse and dialogue within the scientific community, or cultural exchanges — which are expanding in size and number — and increasingly frequent visits of emigre Indians and tourists to this country, or direct exposure to the media, especially Hollywood films and packaged programmes on television, the American presence, already overwhelming, has been growing in this country.

At the seemingly more superficial, but nonetheless important, level represented by the new consumerism of the Indian middle

classes — of which hamburgers, pizzas, video films and games, TV serials such as "I Love Lucy," electrical gadgets and appliances, fashion, clothes and sportswear, Harold Robbins' best selling "novels," all-American cigarettes, cola-based soft drinks (to which list Pepsi-Cola may soon be added), and of late, personal computers are all specific components — the U.S. influence is too visible to be underrated.

A Reference Point

It is not just the more imitative or servile elements within the Indian elite — such as those who might regard the "American way of life" (whatever they mean by it) as the ideal one and cite the U.S. as the prime example of society, culture and politics that this country ought to emulate — that are within the orbit of the American influence. The more enlightened sections of the intelligentsia, such as scientists and hi-tech researchers, computerniks, engineers, technocrats, artists, writers, journalists, as well as managers and professionals associated with the tertiary sector and young entrepreneurs are equally within that sphere.

America has in fact become a Mecca for several professional groups within the Indian middle class, their principal reference point, a destination. A degree from an American university, especially in management, but also secondarily in engineering and the applied sciences, is today's passport for entry into the upper reaches of the Indian professional job market, just as an Oxbridge degree, typically in the liberal arts or humanities, used to be till the 'sixties.

Little wonder then that large numbers of bright middle-class Indian students aspire to go to the U.S. rather than any other country. The number of Indian students currently attending U.S. universities — nearly 14,000 — is only the tip of the iceberg of aspirants, as dramatic increases in the number of students sitting for

tests such as TOEFL (test of English as a foreign language) and GRE (graduate record examination) — pre-admission requirements for most American universities — would show.

As is well-known, between a quarter and half of all graduates from the better Indian technology universities, such as the Indian Institutes of Technology, seek to study and then settle down in the U.S. This is also true of a large number of professionals for other categories, such as managers (MBAs), doctors and, of course, scientists.

According to the latest available migration statistics, this country lost by way of emigration as many as 13,200 managers to the developed countries between 1974 and 1981 alone. The vast majority of these people migrated to the U.S. Although the figure does not appear to be large in absolute terms, it is estimated that this emigration siphoned off most managers who were trained in India. The trend is likely only to have been reinforced since 1981.

Unequal Contact

Highly qualified professionals account for the bulk of those who have emigrated to the U.S. from this country since independence. Between 1947 and 1965, only 6,000 Indians sought U.S. citizenship. In the period 1965 to 1976 their number had risen to 100,000 and between 1976 and 1980 by another 50,000. This increasing flow has now established a half-million-strong Indian community in the U.S., composed primarily of prosperous professionals.

These Indians as a group belong to the top seven per cent of American income earners. Their assets, conservatively estimated at over \$12 billion, are several times the per capita U.S. average for any other third world ethnic group. Their median income, over \$25,000 a year, is more than twice the national median. And their reservoir of professional talent is the richest of any ethnic

category. As against 27 per cent of the U.S. workforce as a whole, over 80 per cent of the Indian-born labour force living in that country was in 1981 engaged in professional, technical and managerial categories.

Exposure to America, refracted or mediated through the agency of this highly successful emigre community has undoubtedly played a vital role in influencing the Indian elite at home and shaping its attitudes. The myriad links between the Indian professionals settled in the U.S. and their relatives, former colleagues, friends, former peer groups based on caste, clan and kinship ties — and these number five million or more — are such as would naturally make the American experience of the former a pole of attraction, a source of ideas, attitudes and values, and a model to be emulated by the latter. The increasing value placed by the professional middle classes on success, of which the Indians who have become U.S. citizens or "green card" holders have had more than a small measure, itself exerts a strong pull, ideological, cultural and social, upon sections of the Indian elite which are in contact with them.

The Indian community in the U.S. then has acted as a sort of transmission belt of ideas and attitudes feeding into this country's westernised elite. This has supplemented a more direct form of contact, often of an unequal kind — since it is loaded in favour of the U.S. This is manifest both at the more mundane level of technology transfer, business collaboration and tertiary or "quadrenary" (so-called information and related businesses) sector activities; and through numerous ideas and artefacts: textbooks (which especially in the technical and management curricula have replaced older British, and of course Indian, ones), theatre, music, dance, pulp literature and, even more important, notions about life-styles, habitat, food, recreation, the family and personal relationships, to mention only a few.

Major Changes

But what sort of America, which aspects of that society and its culture, has this growing exposure involved and focussed on? Crucially, it is the U.S. of triumphant Reaganism, the right-wing, conservative America of the late seventies and the eighties that has increasingly dominated the images, identities and ideas that have been transmitted to this country.

This fact is of singular importance. For, although it is not fully appreciated, least of all in this country, the U.S. economy and society have undergone a profound transformation particularly since the end of the Vietnam war, which has completely altered the political landscape of that country, resulted in significant shifts in the balance of social forces, and wrought major changes in the dominant values and attitudes prevalent in that society.

There are many indices of this transformation. Sectors, industry groups and regions that were dominant in the economy for three decades since the beginning of World War II have yielded primacy to entirely new ones. The tertiary and quadrenary sectors of the economy have grown considerably faster — and at a historically unprecedented rate — than manufacturing industry itself. High-tech industries, banking, real estate, services such as consultancy, and businesses associated with medical care, recreation, entertainment and fast-foods have displaced traditional industries and economic activities.

This has altered beyond recognition the central dynamic that characterises contemporary U.S. capitalism. A concomitant of this shift in the basic co-ordinates of the American economy has been a series of major changes in society, the terms of competition and struggle between different social groups and classes, and in American politics. The next article will discuss some features of this transformation and such of its consequences as are relevant to the American influence to which the Indian elite has been exposed.

Rajiv Gandhi's 'new India'

By Orrin G. Hatch

WHEN Rajiv Gandhi succeeded his mother as India's prime minister last November, political observers were cautious in predicting the course of US-Indian relations because he was then an unknown political quantity. After all, only two years ago a Senate Foreign Relations Committee report had described Mr. Gandhi as a very "reluctant entrant into the political arena" who was "not yet well versed in either Indian or international politics."

In just six months, India's new prime minister has proved to be a capable and independent-minded leader who is especially popular with his country's young people. I believe that 40-year-old Rajiv Gandhi has begun to create a "new India" by cleaning up Indian politics, instituting a new work ethic, and paving the way for technological developments.

This has a direct bearing on US-Indian relations. The United States has a great deal to offer India in the way of private investment and high technology at this critical stage of its development; by contrast, the Soviet Union is not in a position to lend India high-tech support.

In my view, our ultimate goal should be to see Mr. Gandhi realign India with the West. The first step in this process is to influence India to adopt a true policy of nonalignment. It will take a persistent effort to loosen New Delhi's ties to Moscow, which were formalized in the 1971 Soviet-Indian friendship treaty. Mr. Gandhi has recently underscored the difference between India's relations with the two superpowers: He has said that while India has a "multifaceted" relationship with the United States, including economic, technological, and cultural cooperation, he "highly values" India's "wide-ranging and time-tested" relationship with the Soviet Union.

The Reagan administration is wisely encouraging peaceful cultural, scientific, and technological cooperation with India. Prime Minister Gandhi and First Lady Nancy Reagan are the honorary patrons for the 1985-86 "Festival of India" — an 18-month-long celebration of Indian culture which was planned by President Reagan and Indira Gandhi in the summer of 1982. Cultural institutions across the US — including the Kennedy Center, the Smithsonian Institution, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and the Asian Museum of Art in San Francisco — will present major exhibitions of Indian art, music, drama, dance, film, and crafts. This multifaceted program will be an important contribution toward creating better understanding between the peoples of the world's two largest democracies.

US-Indian scientific and technological cooperation are also on the upswing, as a result of the 1982 Reagan-(Indira) Gandhi Science and Technology Initiative. According to the State Department, there are currently 70 projects under the initiative: 26 in health, 25 in monsoon

research, and 19 in agriculture. I hope that when they meet this month, Prime Minister Gandhi and President Reagan will extend the agreement, due to expire in October, to keep these worthwhile programs on track.

Undersecretary of Defense for Policy Fred Ikle made a worthwhile contribution to increased US-Indian cooperation by "unsticking" the restrictions on dual-use high-tech items during his recent trip to India. I am sure that these efforts have not gone unnoticed by the Soviets, who are diligently pursuing joint Soviet-Indian scientific ventures. Last year an Indian astronaut, Rakesh Sharma, flew in a Soyuz 2 spacecraft along with two Soviet cosmonauts. I was pleased to learn that the US space shuttle will have an Indian on board in 1986.

While I support increased US-Indian cultural and scientific cooperation, it would be a mistake to focus our efforts on military cooperation at this time. India continues to rely heavily on the Soviet Union for the vast majority of its military technology. Although there is now the potential for broader US weapons sales to India, we should not force American weapons on the Indians. Instead, we should simply be prepared to respond to their requests.

From New Delhi's point of view, the main obstacle to closer US-Indian relations is the continued US supply of weapons to Pakistan — a country that has fought three wars with India. I agree with my good friend Sen. Sam Nunn, who has pointed out that India and Pakistan actually have mutual security interests. As Sam has stated, "It seems to me that even the zealots on both sides would begin to see that there is much more to bind the two countries together than to separate them." The Reagan administration is helping to set the stage for better Indian-Pakistani relations by developing a balanced policy between the two countries.

Finally, although I am optimistic about the future course of US-Indian relations, I believe it would be a great mistake to be overeager in courting India. We cannot expect a knee-jerk response from Mr. Gandhi each time we offer the Indians something they want. In an interview with Newsweek, Prime Minister Gandhi compared his present duties as India's head of state to his former profession as an airline pilot. He said, "Flying is really coordinating, monitoring, a lot of different things happening, while thinking of other things. In many ways it's similar, if you imagine India as a huge aircraft, but with a much longer response time."

As US policymakers carve out our policy toward India in the coming months, they would do well to keep that analogy in mind.

Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R) of Utah is vice chairman for foreign policy of the Senate steering committee.

India's Economic Revolution

U.S. Can Help Gandhi's Cause—and Our Own Interests

By STANLEY J. HEGINBOTHAM

Many Americans are likely to misread the significance of this week's visit of India's Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, to Washington. Preoccupation with India's ties to the Soviet Union could easily draw attention away from the dramatic changes in Indian economic policy that he has brought about, and the importance of American recognition of (and support for) those changes.

The sources of conflict between the United States and India since that country became independent in 1947 have been numerous, and fundamental differences in economic policy and philosophy are at the root of much of the acrimony. However, in the last several years, Indian thinking and practice in critical aspects of economic policy have been undergoing a revolution.

Rajiv Gandhi did not initiate that revolution, but he has greatly accelerated it. The prospects for more extensive economic and trade ties with India, and for more comfortable bilateral relations, are significantly improved by his having inherited his mother's mantle. It is important that we recognize and reinforce this, not only because it is at the heart of prospects for improved relations, but also because Gandhi may well need help and support in what promises to be a major battle with regressive economic thinking in his own country.

Since independence, Indian economic policy rhetoric has been anti-capitalist, anti-competitive, anti-market and anti-world trade. The practical consequences of this have been heavy government investment in the public sector, elaborate systems of licensing and controls on the private sector, tax structures that discouraged capital investment and promoted an extensive and elaborate black-market economy, and controls, pricing policies and investment policies that discouraged vigorous efforts to promote exports.



•DOROTHY AHLE

Rajiv Gandhi

The infatuation of India's first generation of leaders with Fabian socialism was a major factor in shaping economic policy during the last three decades. But far more important as an explanation for Indian policy choices are attitudes and values that are deeply rooted in Indian social, religious and philosophical thought. The programs that Gandhi proposes challenge central elements of those traditional views.

The source of much traditional Indian economic thinking is the view of a village society consisting of numerous castes

whose members' relations with each other are defined by elaborate sets of duties and rights. Order, balance and general well-being are preserved as long as everyone carries out these traditionally defined roles. Disorder and conflict will result when individuals depart from these norms, and individual initiative, ambition and striving for economic gain are seen as threatening to the social order.

The village deals traditionally with the outside monetary economy through merchants, who buy grain and other commodities when prices are low and then sell at much higher prices during periods of scarcity, and through money lenders who extract usurious interest rates from chronic debtors. These are the "capitalists" who manage the market economy in the world of most Indians. They also represent the threatening and potentially destructive results of dependence on the outside world.

It is hardly surprising that Indians have traditionally resisted suggestions that they build their national economy around individual initiative, incentives, capitalism, foreign investment and a vigorous foreign trade sector. Instead, the leadership has tried to use licenses, quotas, regulations, administered prices and public ownership to maintain social order and equity. The results have often been choking inefficiencies imposed by bureaucratic red tape, much more modest growth than that achieved by more market-oriented Asian countries and widespread corruption.

Slowly, over the last decade, Indians have begun to flirt with economic policy based on market forces, foreign investment and more vigorous involvement in foreign trade. Indira Gandhi's experiments were cautious; by contrast, her son has been far bolder and more adventuresome. He has speeded the deregulation of about 25 sectors in the economy, created conditions for Indian competition in computer and electronics industries, and changed taxation and monopoly provisions to foster private capital investment and initiative.

Timid, traditional, bureaucratic and ideological elements in the Indian body politic have already begun to react to these changes. Gandhi will face opposition not only from the left but also from within his own Congress party, public corporations and the country's bureaucracies.

His visit, then, provides an opportunity to play down the kind of acrimonious and often unproductive focus on India's ties to the Soviet Union, which has characterized much previous dialogue with Indian leaders. Americans can help Gandhi's cause—and the future of Indo-American relations—by recognizing the bravery and boldness of what he is doing. Moreover, we can emphasize our interest in understanding the changing Indian economy, and exploring progress in areas that have historically discouraged us from investing in India's growth and development.

Finally, we can demonstrate an openness to the possibility that the Indian economy, so unpromising and forbidding to us in the past, will soon become an attraction for American investment and trade.

Stanley J. Heginbotham, chief of the foreign affairs and national defense division of the Congressional Research Service, is the author of "Cultures in Conflict: The Four Faces of Indian Bureaucracy" (Columbia University Press).

US hopes to draw India into a 'more balanced nonalignment'

By George D. Moffett III
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

Essentially, it's been a get-acquainted visit.

But through a combination of quiet diplomatic reassurances and promises of expanded trade, United States officials have used the occasion of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's first state visit this week to draw India into a



Rajiv Gandhi with Reagan during US visit this week

"more balanced nonalignment," as one senior administration official describes it.

Diplomatic efforts to ease strained US-Indian relations have been reinforced by a number of recent movies and television specials that "have left many Americans feeling good about India," says a State Department official.

US officials say they have no illusions about the limits of accommodation with India. Mr. Gandhi's visit to Moscow last month was a reaffirmation of India's primary relationship with the Soviet Union.

Still, this week's visit has left a trace of optimism about the future of US-Indian relations.

"There's an enormous change in the traditional view of India here," says one expert on US-Indian relations. "The US now takes India's fears and strategic interests more to heart." At the same time, "Rajiv may be the person who can best respond," says this expert. "He has less paranoia about India than his mother [former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi]. That may allow Rajiv to distance himself more from Moscow."

In an Oval Office meeting Wednesday, President Reagan assured Gandhi — apparently with mixed success — that the current six-year, \$3.2 billion US military aid program to Pakistan is designed to shore up Pakistan against possible threats from neighboring Afghanistan, now occupied by more than 100,000 Soviet troops. Officials say the aid package has not altered the military balance in the Asian subcontinent, which heavily favors

India.

Mr. Reagan also reconfirmed US opposition to Pakistan's reported efforts to acquire nuclear weapons.

Finally, the President provided assurances of US support for Indian national unity, which is being challenged by a Sikh separatist movement. In welcoming remarks at the White House Wednesday, the President told Gandhi the US "remains steadfastly dedicated to India's unity, and we firmly oppose those who would undermine it."

In return, the President encouraged India to take a more active role in helping to end the Soviet Union's five-year occupation of Afghanistan. So far India has been reluctant to jeopardize relations with Moscow by taking a strong public stand on Afghanistan. In an address to a joint session of Congress yesterday, Gandhi remained noncommittal, saying only that India is "opposed to both foreign presences and pressures."

In addition to diplomacy, the US sought to wean India from the Soviet Union with expanded trade ties. Two years ago, the US became India's largest trading partner. The US would like to build on that relationship by supplying the high-technology goods that India needs for rapid industrialization — but cannot obtain from the Soviet Union.

US and Indian officials this week discussed the sale of both civilian and military technology to India. They say the sale could be the prelude to a significantly increased US-Indian trade relationship in the future.

On Thursday, Gandhi inaugurated a two-year festival of Indian arts and culture, which one senior administration official describes as the "largest single cultural-exchange program ever."

Gandhi Visit Won't Alter U.S.-India Ties

Foreign-Policy Issues Pose Obstacles for Washington, New Delhi

By MATT MILLER
AND BARRY KRAMER

Special to THE ASIAN WALL STREET JOURNAL

For almost four decades, a widening gulf of mutual recrimination has separated the world's two largest democracies, India and the U.S.

Despite years of American largess to India in the form of billions of dollars in grants, loans and grain, in Washington's eyes India has seemed to take more comfort in the Soviet Union's actions than in those of the U.S. Thus, almost alone outside the Soviet bloc, India refuses to publicly condemn the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and, indeed, says that Washington must share the blame for the bloodshed because it helps arm and support the Afghan rebels.

But with the coming to power of Rajiv Gandhi after the assassination of his mother, Indira, optimists have begun speculating that India will take a more truly neutral path between the two superpowers. Mr. Gandhi's open admiration of American technology, his steps to entice U.S. business investment and his decision to visit the U.S. for five days, beginning today, have fed such speculation.

'He Went Too Far'

In both India and the U.S., however, political analysts say the visit is likely to accomplish little. Mr. Gandhi's youth (he is 40 years old), his British education, his training as an airline pilot and his efforts to modernize India's lumbering economy won't

necessarily translate into appreciably closer ties with the U.S., the analysts say.

"Just because the guy can program a computer doesn't mean he's going to jump into bed with us," says a U.S. businessman in New Delhi.

Mr. Gandhi already has made it clear that India won't improve its U.S. ties at the expense of relations with the Soviet Union. During a visit to Moscow last month, Mr. Gandhi joined the Russians in criticizing President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative, the so-called Star Wars plan. He also accused the U.S. of turning a "blind eye" to development of nuclear



Rajiv Gandhi

weapons by Pakistan, a U.S. ally and long-time enemy of India. And in an interview with foreign reporters in New Delhi before leaving for the U.S., Mr. Gandhi said the only difference between the Soviet military takeover of Afghanistan and the U.S. occupation of Grenada was that the American troops had since left.

"A lot of people around him think he went too far," says Paul Kreisberg of the New York-based Council on Foreign Relations and a former U.S. diplomat in New

Delhi. "We don't know enough about the man to know if it was done deliberately or out of naivete."

According to Indian political observers, Mr. Gandhi remains committed to preserving his country's longstanding policies, some of which clearly displease the U.S. They include antagonism toward Pakistan, close economic and military ties with the Soviet Union and an effort to champion the global nonaligned movement. In foreign relations, Mr. Gandhi "has a sense of legacy, but no sense of destiny," says Bhabani Sen Gupta of the Center for Policy Studies, an independent Indian think tank.

Sense of Legacy

Given the prime minister's sense of legacy, many experts on U.S.-India relations believe that recent American optimism on improved ties isn't warranted. "A lot of us were concerned after Rajiv's emergence that there was rising in the U.S. expectation of rapid change in U.S.-India relations," says Marshall Bouton of the Asia Society in New York. But, he notes, "the Indo-Soviet relationship is just too central to be reduced unless there are major changes in the region and in U.S. policy."

An inherent danger in such an American misconception, says William Richter, a Kansas State University political scientist now in India, is that "somehow, the U.S. could look at this as a spurned love affair."

To many in India, the success of Mr. Gandhi's visit will depend on discussion in

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two areas. The first involves whether the two nations can establish at least a symbolic strengthening of economic ties. Although the U.S. was India's largest trading partner last year, two-way trade totaled only \$4 billion, including \$1 billion in Indian oil exports that aren't likely to be repeated.

The second issue concerns whether the U.S. will accord India a higher status in world politics than it has done in the past. Many Indians will be disappointed if it appears that Mr. Reagan isn't treating Mr. Gandhi on an equal footing. "It depends on how seriously the U.S. takes India as a great power," says Indian political scientist Bharat Wariavwalla.

But almost no one expects the visit to produce any real breakthroughs. In the press conference with foreign journalists last week, Mr. Gandhi himself underscored the trip's limitations. Its most important purpose, he said, is simply a "better understanding between the two countries."

The Pakistan Issue

The critical roadblock to better relations is the U.S. "tilt" toward Pakistan, a country with which India has fought three wars since both countries were created out of British India in 1947. Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. has promised Pakistan billions of dollars in new arms, including F-16 jets, which are far more sophisticated than anything in the Indian arsenal.

To the Indians, the arms are offensive weapons against India rather than defensive weapons against the Soviets. "The F-16s aren't deployed to deal with a threat against Afghanistan," says an Indian official. "They are on the Indian border — in an area from which attacks on India have occurred before."

But despite such perceptions, some Indian analysts believe that Afghanistan may eventually provide an area for U.S.-Indian agreement. According to experts in New Delhi, Mr. Gandhi privately told officials in Moscow of his opposition to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. These experts believe Mr. Gandhi may be willing to mediate the Afghan conflict, an offer the U.S. might support.

Weapons Co-production?

India also would like to develop arms relations with the U.S., which currently provides no military assistance to New Delhi. At the press conference, however, Mr. Gandhi said any U.S. weapons sales to India could be hindered by tough U.S. congressional regulations, which the prime minister said sometimes allow the U.S. to unilaterally change an agreement.

Some analysts believe that Mr. Gandhi, instead of offering to purchase U.S. arms, will suggest setting up a weapons co-production agreement. Although it is unlikely that any such arrangement can be hammered out during the Gandhi visit, the two countries may announce the beginning of discussions on such an agreement, Indian analysts say.

The two sides also will discuss increased U.S. economic assistance to India in areas of high technology, involving both civilian and military applications. A memorandum of understanding on the matter was signed in New Delhi last month during a visit by U.S. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige.

At the press conference, Mr. Gandhi said he was waiting "to see what the small print is" on the agreement before making any commitments. But analysts in New Delhi believe the two countries are close to completing arrangements on the sale of some computers. That could pave the way for better economic relations.

"For the first time, both sides are interested in the economy," says Mr. Richter. "If something doesn't come out, it is a sign of deeper problems."

No U.S. Frankfurters

Although Mr. Gandhi apparently believes that foreign assistance is needed to help bridge India's technology gaps, few in India expect the prime minister to throw the economy open to large-scale foreign participation, no matter what offers he may receive.

"Just because Ronald Reagan is nice to India doesn't mean that India is going to buy American frankfurters," says Mr. Wariavwalla, the political scientist. "India's approach to the U.S. is one of bargaining," adds Mr. Sen Gupta of the Center for Policy Studies.

A question mark in the Indo-U.S. discussions is India's fight with Union Carbide Corp. over the gas leak in Bhopal last December, in which 1,500 were killed. In his press conference, Mr. Gandhi indicated that he wouldn't discuss a settlement with the U.S. government or with Union Carbide officials. He also said the leak had made India increasingly wary of foreign companies.

Nonetheless, the U.S. should find Mr. Gandhi more receptive to overtures of better relations than was his mother. Mr. Gandhi has no memories of the independence fight that colored India's relations with the West. Moreover, his mother often blamed the U.S., and specifically the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, for India's problems. Says an Indian political analyst: "Rajiv doesn't have this obsessive fear."

All set to welcome Rajiv



WASHINGTON LETTER

Sharon Butler

Washington is a whirl of activity in preparation for Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit. In the last few weeks, the Indian embassy has been throbbing with uncharacteristic energy. The chancery got a major face lift: old sofas were temporarily stashed in the library, and carpets rolled up in the corners, as workmen covered the walls in fresh white paint. Diplomats have been working overtime, even on weekends, ironing out finer points in the Prime Minister's schedule for this week, fitting in appointments with a wide range of eminent Americans, from astronomer Carl Sagan to the tough television news interviewer Ted Koppel. And over at the state department, the chief of protocol, Mrs Selwa Roosevelt, just discovered that the menu for the White House banquet in honour of Mr Gandhi included the same dish she had ordered for the lunch which the secretary of state is hosting. She quickly planned a new menu (the White House always gets precedence), and on Friday sampled and inspected the items so as to be sure that the luncheon for about 200 guests goes off perfectly.

Preparations for the visit, though now reaching a feverish pitch, have been underway for six months (the cycle of the US President's calendar). The theme for the visit—technology cooperation—had crystallised way back in January.

To an outsider, the visit may look like little more than a symbolic and expensive hand-

shake, for bilateral relations are carried on and discussed every day between the two countries' diplomats, politicians, and government bureaucrats. Why, indeed, must the two leaders ever meet? But in fact, a visit looming on the horizon offers up an opportunity to give a fresh impetus to relations, to rethink old problems, unsnag difficulties, reevaluate policies—all, hopefully, in a new context. At the US department of state, the India desk suddenly lurches into action. Briefing papers on every aspect of relations are ordered up, coordinated, considered and the state department pushes for some centrepiece for the visit: a new infusion of aid, an agreement on a political problem, a military cooperation pact, something to signal that the visit was successful.

Some of the pre-visit activity for the Prime Minister's trip has been well-publicised—the visits to India by senior commerce and defence department officials. But much has gone on quietly behind the scenes. For example, Dr Caroline Feeson, who heads the south Asia section of the US Chamber of Commerce's international division, recently made a trip to India to finalise the list for a breakfast meeting with US business executives. Professor Leo Rose, a south Asia expert currently with the

policy planning division of the state department, just returned last weekend from India, as did Dr Michael Pillsbury, assistant to Dr Fred Ikle, undersecretary of defence for policy planning.

But with all the preparation, the work for the visit is never really done. In the last two weeks, the schedule for the Prime Minister's visit has been shuffled and reshuffled—and at times the rescheduling has caused hard feelings. Mr Gandhi was supposed to meet with the Indian community on Saturday, June 15, for example, but last weekend the embassy suddenly called the organisers of the event to say the date had to be shifted to Friday, June 14, or else cancelled. Many of the community leaders were angry at the last-minute change but the embassy had also been upset. It had asked that the event not be advertised publicly for security reasons, then found full-page announcements in the ethnic newspapers.

The schedule is never "cast in brass," as one state department spokesman put it. When King Hussein of Jordan recently visited the US, for instance, an extra appointment was arranged after the King had already arrived, and the meeting with the secretary of state had to be delayed for two hours.

Preparations include the office of protocol at the US department of state. An official visit for a head of government (for a head of state, such as a King or Queen, it is called a state visit) is accompanied by the highest level of ceremony the US knows how to muster: a welcome complete with marching bands and a gun salute on the sprawling White House lawn, and a black tie banquet

hosted by the President and his wife. (There are other categories of visits, such as "official working visits," which go without all the fanfare.)

From the moment the Prime Minister touches down at Andrews Air Force Base on June 11, he and a delegation of 14 that includes his wife, are official guests of the US, and they are catered to and pampered—everything paid for by the US government—until the day they leave. (A foreign visitor may bring a larger delegation, but the extra persons must pay their own way.) Mr. Gandhi will have at his disposal a plushly outfitted US air force plane to fly to Houston and will be accompanied by the chief of protocol. Dietary needs, table-seating arrangements (even in the limousine, the Prime Minister gets the seat of honour, on the right side), and every conceivable minutiae of comfort have been worked out. The protocol staff will set up an office where the Prime Minister and his delegation is staying in order to be on hand around the clock. One staff person will be assigned to escort Mrs. Sonia Gandhi wherever she wants to go, and someone will even be assigned to the two children to make sure their needs are taken care of.

There is an air of expectation about the visit in the US, though it is not quite clear why, for no real policy changes or dramatic new initiatives are expected as a result of it. The anticipation probably stems more from the fact that India has always had a certain cachet for Americans, and this year even more so, with a young new Prime Minister at its helm, with all the movies and news about India driving it into public view.

The media has already carried quite a number of reports in advance of Mr. Gandhi's arrival. *Good Morning America*, the popular morning news programme, broadcast a

three-part series, featuring an interview with the Prime Minister. There have also been op-ed pieces in the *New York Times*, a favourable article in *Business Week*, which used to be so antagonistic toward Mrs. Indira Gandhi, a not-so-favourable opinion piece by senator Orrin Hatch in the usually sympathetic *Christian Science Monitor*, an editorial in the *Baltimore Sun*, and plenty of wonderful effusions about the Festival of India in just about every major publication. Still not satisfied with the publicity, the embassy is trying to "plant" a story. It has enlisted a resident Indian here to pen a favourable piece and send it to the *Washington Post*: the ambassador has reportedly even offered an outline for the piece.

But it is not just the media which is interested in the visit. Many more business executives wanted to be included in the Chamber of Commerce's breakfast meeting, but they could not be accommodated. Institutions like the Library of Congress wanted to host events for the Prime Minister, but the schedule was already too full. And requests from academicians, former diplomats, and other individuals who wanted to attend the secretary's luncheon poured into the department of state.

Not all of the well-wishers have impeccable motives. Gushed one office secretary at the Pentagon who said she couldn't wait until the Prime Minister arrived, "He's so-o-o handsome."

The US aims to please

All the fanfare in the US for the Indian Prime Minister's visit is not aimed at winning specific policy concessions but is more in the nature of an investment in the future through an elaborate public relations exercise. Sharon Butler reports from Washington

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi will be welcomed to Washington with ceremony on Wednesday as he begins a four-day official visit which both India and the US hope will broaden and improve bilateral relations.

But the fanfare for the visit, including the private meetings with the resident and Cabinet members and the rare honour of speaking before the US Congress, belies the modest expectations officials have. Some senior US officials have recently sounded highly optimistic about relations. Mr Malcolm Baldrige, secretary of commerce, talked of a "new era." Mr Fred Ikle, under secretary of defence for policy planning, talked of new defence cooperation. Even President Ronald Reagan publicly praised Indian economic reforms.

But others, especially those in the department of state, have all along been more cautious, pointing out that Indian foreign policy rested on a broad and time-tested consensus that was not likely to change overnight and hence suddenly throw India into the arms of the west, no matter how much the US sought to woo the new leadership.

Some officials have even been highly sceptical of any burgeoning new ties. Asked to compare Mr Gandhi with his mother, Mr Lionel Olmer, under secretary of commerce for international trade, remarked obliquely, there is a strong family resemblance."

Earlier this year, it seemed that both governments were putting out "feelers," testing for any shifts in policies that might pave the way for better relations. But despite the subtle overtures, each quickly ran into a wall of severe limits which has bedeviled relations before. Weighted with the baggage of past suspicions and irritations, each beat its own verbal retreat. For domestic reasons, India pulled back verbally from its economic reforms. At the same time, it reaffirmed its long, stable friendship with the Soviet Union. Similarly, the US made it clear that because of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, it would not forsake its ties with Pakistan. Subsequently, US officials, Indian diplomats, and policy analysts in Washington have consciously sought to dampen expectations for the Prime Minister's visit, calling it a "get acquainted" visit and seeming at times to reduce it almost to just another international courtesy call paid by a new leader.

Former ambassador K.R. Narayanan was fond of quoting the Spanish poet Lorca to describe Indo-US relations: "half full of cold, half full of fire." But at least in recent years, relations have rarely been so passionate. As policy analyst Thomas Thornton has remarked, they have avoided both intimacy and disaster. Mr Robert Peck, the seniormost state department official dealing specifically with South

Asia, has emphasised that US policy takes its directional cues from India when dealing with that country. He has also pointed to the personal ties which have grown between the two nations because of trade, joint business ventures in India, and Indian immigrants in the US, and he has commented that the US government was merely working to encourage those "natural" ties.

In the subcontinent, as professor Stephen Cohen has often commented, indeed, the US has pursued its own national interests—in arming Pakistan as a frontline state against Soviet aggression—with little regard to the effect on India. While US moves are often interpreted as "anti-India," in fact, they are not directly aimed at undermining India's preeminence in the region, even though they have that result. The US is simply unwilling to consider India in its geopolitical calculations. Instead, the US approach is to go ahead with its policies, then try to tidy up the mess its policies leave in their wake. While supporting Pakistan because of its geopolitical concerns, for example, the US believed it could limit the damage to India by working behind the scenes to promote Indo-Pakistani amity.

Some of the tidying up is superficial. The US continually tries to put a favourable light on relations, but throws up platitudes. "India and the US are the world's two largest democracies," press officers and speech writers pen for every bilateral occasion, as if the statement implied some warm bond of kinship. In fact, as Mr Thornton has pointed out, both democratic nations have found it easier to deal with non-democratic countries.

Another platitude has emerged more recently: that the US is India's largest trading partner. Yet, US trade with India represents less than one per cent of the US's total international trade. And though Indian exports to the US more than doubled between 1980

and 1984, the figures are misleading because the increase was mostly in petroleum, which was also the country's largest import item. The doubling represented no real growth since India was exporting the petroleum only because of insufficient refining capacity.

Nevertheless, some of the tidying-up by the US in the wake of its policies is indeed sincere and meaningful. For the US realises that India is not a country to be ignored. It is the tenth largest industrial country in the world. It has the third largest reservoir of trained manpower. It has a military capability second only to that of the superpowers. It also has a vast market, comprising at least 200 million people (roughly the entire population of the US).

Moreover, American strategists are aware that India's very strength and unity allow the US to worry less about guarding the subcontinent against Soviet expansion. (This fact has not been sufficiently appreciated in India, but should be taken into consideration before decrying the "foreign hand" that is supposedly trying to balkanise the country.)

The upcoming visit, then, needs to be interpreted in the light of the US's tidying up operations. While the US is not ready to contravene its own policies or adjust them to suit India, it is clearly anxious to limit any negative fallout from them and will work to push Indo-US relations as far as they can go within those limits.

All the fanfare for the visit is not a "wooing" of India, as some analysts have suggested. American policy makers are very realistic about the long-standing web of political, economic and military interests which bind India to the USSR. Rather, the fanfare is all to please India, to play to India's sense of self-importance, to pay respect to India as far as possible without acquiescing to its policy wishes.

In this light, too, one can predict where the visit is likely to be most successful. There will certainly be an airing of views—on the many regional and international issues which

have long strained relations—from Pakistan's nuclear programme to US opposition to India's soft-loan borrowing from the multilateral development banks—but there will be no progress or resolution on any of them.

Neither will there be any new outpouring of aid, with budgetary constraints in the US. At present, US aid to India is only a net \$35 million, subtracting Indian payments on earlier loans from US contributions. Again, borrowing from Mr Thornton, Mr Reagan is not ready to "subsidise" Mr Gandhi's "risky economic experiment."

But the Reagan administration's emphasis on "trade, not aid" and India's requirement for financial resources and advanced technology, which it cannot get from the Soviet Union, neatly mesh. And it is in these areas that a series of agreements are expected to be announced when the Prime Minister arrives.

The visit bears the imprint of the present US ambassador to India, Harry Barnes. He has a reputation for being able to dress up even the most insignificant events to give them a touch of importance, which would appeal to India. He has also devoted his energies to expanding cooperative projects in space and science and placed special emphasis on personal contacts between the two countries as a means of improving ties. The personal contact level is clearly evident in Mr Gandhi's schedule: he will be meeting privately not only with the President and vice-president, but also with five members of Mr Reagan's cabinet and with Mr Reagan's chief-of-staff, Donald Regan.

The visit also bears the imprint of Mrs Gandhi. As US state department officials have repeatedly stressed, it was her visit in 1982 which focussed on science and technology as an area where Indo-US cooperation could grow and which identified the US export licensing process as the key obstacle. Although at the time many in the press dismissed Mrs Gandhi's visit as having little substance, it was in fact her initiative which even-

tually led to the recently signed memorandum of understanding on high-technology exports. The memorandum has been termed a "turning point" in Indo-US trade—opening up the possibility of exports in computer technology related to telecommunications and electronics, and the fruitful possibility of joint ventures—even by those state department officials who are more cautious about other aspects of relations.

The short term gains look modest, but in the long term, the emphasis on these areas show a vast potential for India. As one state department official put it, "In a very real sense, we speak to the future of India's aspirations."

Significance of PM's visit to Washington

There is unusual interest throughout the world about Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Washington from 11 to 16 June for a variety of reasons. This visit will set the pace for the normalisation of relations between India and the US. Washington policy-makers are going out of their way to project this visit look as a watershed in the evolution of relations between the two countries.

At the end of May, there was the unusual session in the White House in which Mr L K Jha was received by US President himself, in the company of Secretary of State George Shultz—a sort of dress rehearsal to prepare for the crucial meeting on 12 June between President Reagan and Rajiv Gandhi.

Recent months saw a stream of high-level visitors from the US particularly after the assassination of

come to this country.

There could be other experts too who visited this country recently, particularly the US scholars and specialists on India. All this adds up to show that long before Rajiv Gandhi's arrival, American experts have done their homework on problems connected with Indo-US relations.

This in itself is a clear manifestation of the key position that India has come to occupy in the US perception not only in Asia but in the existing global correlation of political forces. In this sense, Reagan aides have come to realise that their policy of blackmailing and pressuring India, or the policy of "carrot and stick", would not take them too far in neutralising the role that this country has been playing in international affairs.

If one accepts this premise, one conclusion is inevitable, that Washington is in search of a new policy towards India, though how far this policy would succeed is a different story.

Washington seems to have realised by now that in the tense situations gripping the world today, India attaches great importance to the struggle for ending the arms race, for general disarmament, and for averting the threat of a thermonuclear war. The problem of peace and security in Asia, and the question of turning the Indian Ocean region, which is the home of the peoples of most of Asia and Africa, into a zone of peace occupy a special place in India's foreign policy.

The positive orientation of this foreign policy manifests itself also in the essentially anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-racist stand India has taken. It emphatically condemns Israel's expansionist actions against the Arab states (actions encouraged by the US), and supports the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for self-determination, including establishment of a national state of their own. It is opposed to South Africa's aggression against Angola and supports the people of Namibia in their

struggle for independence.

India has expressed herself in unmistakable terms against the United States' Star War programme, for, as Rajiv Gandhi said in Cairo last week, it would bring the world much closer to the "brink". Apart from India's firm opposition to the military build-up of Pakistan, it has been warning the international community that Islamabad is very close to making a nuclear bomb.

These and other facets of India's foreign policy come into sharp conflict with the American geopolitical strategy.

Therefore, it is not clear how the US policy-makers intend to bring about a "reconciliation" between India's policy of non-alignment, anti-imperialism and self-reliance and their own geopolitical strategy! It is difficult to answer this question at this stage, though some contours of US policy may become clear after the visit of the Prime Minister.

Nonetheless, one thing seems to be certain. From the short-term point of view, the US has directed its manoeuvres to drive a wedge between India and the Soviet Union. And it does not conceal this fact.

After his recent visit to India, US under-secretary Ikle said: "India could be a power that contributes to world stability the way the US will see it and want to shape it 10 to 20 years from now, and a power with which we can work together much as we try to work together with other major powers now to enhance our long-term national security aims". (emphasis added).

Thus Washington would want to see India become a "great power" and play the same role in South Asia, which "US is playing in North America".

The principal objective of such a perception as Ikle has himself admitted is to "warm up with India, to try to wean them from complete depen-

COMMENTARY

By V D Chopra

Indira Gandhi. Her funeral was attended by a high-powered team comprising George Shultz and four former American ambassadors to India, namely, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Sherman Cooper, Robert Goheen and John Kenneth Galbraith. This was followed by a visit by former secretary of state, Henry Kissinger. This means, all those who know "men and matters" in India have visited this country to have a "real feel" of the situation.

Equally important is the visit of American experts who deal with defence and economic policies. Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige was in India to make an on-the-spot study of the possibilities of better trade ties and increased American investment. Some military experts such as secretary of Air Force Verne Orr, commander of US Pacific Force Admiral Crow, and under-secretary for defence Dr Fred Ikle, too, have

dence on the Soviet Union". This aspect of the American policy should be clearly understood by all patriotic forces. The United States knows from its own experience that Indo-Soviet friendship has played a major role in making New Delhi more independent and self-reliant. Therefore, without eroding these friendly ties, they cannot deflect India from its chosen path.

But how do they propose to go about it?

Washington has its own constraints and limitations. For instance, it cannot afford to remove Pakistan from its geopolitical strategy, though some Indian experts think that the Americans do not trust the military dictatorship to the same degree as they trust, for instance, Israel. Nonetheless, as long as the Pentagon

continues to build Pakistan into a launching pad for its aggressive designs in this region, Indo-US relations will continue to remain indifferent.

This, however, does not mean that one should ignore the whispering campaign of the pro-US lobby in India that the so-called "Red aggression" in Afghanistan, in the final analysis, might pose a threat to India herself. US experts themselves have been arguing in recent months that "Soviet pressure on Pakistan via Afghanistan may soon develop into a pincer movement on the Pakistanis by both sea and land".

New Delhi is fully aware that whenever Pakistan showed some inclination to have a dialogue with Kabul, Washington scuttled it by pulling the strings from behind. But there are two areas where the US will perhaps concentrate in the coming period to influence India's internal and external policies.

Since India is engaged in modernising its economy, it is keen to get the latest technology, and rightly so. Notwithstanding the euphoria of a section of the elite about securing US technology, what has not been grasped by some experts is that technological development in US itself is in the process of change in terms of its "hegemony" — the leading position.

Between the second World War and the early fifties, out of 500 most important innovations of the world, some 400 new products and production processes were introduced and deployed by the US alone. It came to some 80 per cent of the innovations. In the fifties, the American share came down to 67 per cent, and by the end of the seventies to less than 50 per cent. According to another estimate the US share has now dwindled to 25 per cent.

It means that in many areas of sophisticated technology the US has already lost its dominant position. Naturally, under cover of transferring such technology, Washington would

dump into India outdated technology. India's national interests demand that it should diversify its sources for imported technology.

Another aspect is that Washington allows technology transfer only on a selective basis and only through the transnational corporations (TNCs). It means that technology transfer is allowed only in certain areas and that too if the technology-importing country agrees to set up industrial units in collaboration with the TNCs and on their terms.

In spite of the impression created that Washington is evincing keen interest in making investments in India, US aid to India has been rapidly declining, and has come down from 40 per cent in 1970-71 of the total foreign aid to about 3.5 in 1981-82. Private investments too have been showing a downward trend.

As far as the supply of arms is concerned, US experts including Ikle, have openly acknowledged that Washington cannot "replace the Soviet Union as a supplier of arms on a competitive basis, or even on competitive political basis. It would cost too much".

Thus, if one looks at Indo-US relations from any angle, it becomes clear that a dramatic change in these relations is an aspiration of the American policy-makers. Their immediate objective is to create confusion about India and its foreign policy. Rajiv Gandhi seems to be fully aware of this. That may be why in Egypt and France he has not relented on the basic policy postulates of India and has been forthright in explaining this position.

The real significance of his visit is to explain to the American people that improvement in Indo-US relations is possible only if Washington administration takes a realistic stand on the problems facing our planet today, the chief among them being the danger of a thermonuclear war. It is in this backdrop that the outcome of his talks in Washington needs to be watched with an open mind.



Rajiv's Shadow

Rajiv Gandhi visits Washington tomorrow and expectations are high. The 40-year-old prime minister represents a new generation in India and some hope his visit will encourage a friendlier Indian attitude toward the West. We agree the U.S. can do a few things to improve ties with India, but policy-makers will also want to keep an eye on the shadow that pursues Mr. Gandhi on his U.S. tour. It belongs to Mikhail Gorbachev.

Mr. Gandhi picked up this companion while visiting Moscow last month. He had actually planned to make his current Western swing his first visit out of South Asia. But the Soviets, worried about any new Western tilt by their best non-communist friend, scrambled to save face with a May visit.

They succeeded and they didn't spare the hospitality. Pravda praised Mr. Gandhi to the skies, while Mr. Gorbachev declared even before his visitor arrived that, "Rajiv Gandhi and I have already established a personal friendship." The Soviets offered India some \$1.2 billion in cheap loans and negotiated to sell more high-class weapons. Mr. Gandhi returned the favors, denouncing U.S. plans for space defenses, while justifying the invasion of Afghanistan because the Kabul government had "invited" the Soviets.

None of this means Mr. Gandhi is swinging New Delhi closer to Moscow. But it does symbolize how difficult it will be for the U.S. to correct India's long-time Soviet leanings. Even if Mr. Gandhi were so inclined himself, he'd face opposition from a large pro-Moscow lobby in his own Congress-I Party, the defense establishment (which gets 75% of its weapons from the Soviets) and the press (some of it on the Soviet payroll). The CIA gets blamed for most things in India, including the weather.

What then can the U.S. do? The best, if unexciting, answer is to encourage Mr. Gandhi to keep liberalizing India's socialist economy. As

Ronald Reagan noted in Spain recently, Rajiv Gandhi could lead "an economic revolution in India," an event at least as important as the free-market reforms now being tried in China. Mr. Gandhi's first budget went a long way in this direction, slashing taxes and regulations.

More needs to be done, though, and the U.S. can help most by keeping an open door to products made by freer Indian entrepreneurs. This won't sit well in Congress, of course, but it's likely to be far more effective than the foreign aid or cheap World Bank loans that reinforce India's state bureaucracy. In the long run, too, an Indian elite and middle class oriented to Western markets will find the Soviets dull customers by comparison.

Mr. Gandhi will of course want more than this. And the U.S. is likely to oblige by loosening restraints on high-tech commercial exports. This makes sense because it should also help India's development. It makes less sense, though, to reduce U.S. support for India's neighbor and enemy, Pakistan, or to sell India high-tech weapons. Mr. Gandhi is especially worried, with some cause, that Pakistan is building a nuclear bomb. (India exploded its own nuclear weapon years ago.) But Pakistan's leaders know the U.S. will withdraw all support if they do build a bomb, so U.S. aid to Pakistan is at least something of a deterrent. As for weapons, India's military is a sieve easily penetrated by the Soviets, as a recent spy scandal in New Delhi involving Polish, Soviet and East German agents shows. Moscow will likely get hold of anything sensitive the U.S. sells India.

Mr. Gandhi deserves a warm U.S. welcome for many reasons, not least because he represents the world's most clamorous democracy. But relations of the sort the U.S. has with Japan, say, or with ASEAN will have to wait until Mr. Gandhi decides to lose his shadow. And that may take a long time.

Rajiv Gandhi's Visit To U.S.

A Possible Turning Point In Policy

By GIRILAL JAIN

MR. Rajiv Gandhi's forthcoming visit to the United States could mark a turning point in India's foreign relations. This is by no means certain. For one thing, it is far from certain that the U.S. actions will match the rhetoric of some of its policy-makers even in the short run. For another, the Prime Minister has yet to reveal his overall approach to the country's foreign policy. Even so the possibility of a qualitative change in Indo-U.S. relations and therefore in India's general foreign policy stance must not be dismissed.

Broadly speaking, India's foreign policy runs at two levels — at the level of its vaguely defined ideology whereby it opposes racialism and neocolonialism in its various manifestations and seeks to promote a new international order which is more equal and just than the present west-dominated one, and at the realistic-pragmatic level whereby it seeks to protect its interests by developing relations not only with countries with which it is in sympathy in ideological terms but also with those it disagrees with strongly. There have been only three exceptions to this rule. India has had no dealings with South Africa and Formosa and hardly any with Israel, though all of them could have been its valuable trading partners. Thus despite its opposition to various aspects of U.S. policy, especially those relating to Asia since the outbreak of the Korean war in 1950, New Delhi has maintained working relations with Washington and received substantial aid from it.

Plainly, India's ideological stance, as first defined by Mr. Nehru and then sharpened by Mr. Krishna Menon and maintained by Mrs. Gandhi, has been tempered by its pursuit of national interests. Indeed, India has adopted not one but two ideological stances, one requiring it to emphasise its anti-colonial and anti-racialist commitments and the other its democratic ones. Obviously, the second has softened the first and made it possible to seek and receive assistance from the neo-colonialist West, particularly the United States.

But if the opposition to the West has been doubly tempered by an awareness of national interests and the democratic commitment, the ties with the Soviet Union (without the power of which effective opposition to neo-colonialism could not have been possible) have been strengthened by the pursuit of the same national interests. The Soviet Union has played a key role in India's economic development by way of supporting the establishment of basic industries in the public sector. And it has provided invaluable assistance in India's search for security. The second has without doubt been the key factor in Indo-Soviet relations since it came into play in the mid-sixties. It is this factor which the United States now appears to have decided to weaken and it seems that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is willing to play along in view of the state of the art.

Security Ties

The story of the evolution of the security relationship with the Soviet Union goes back not to 1962 when Mr. Krishna Menon persuaded Mr. Khrushchev to sell one squadron of MIG-21s to India but to 1954 when Mr. Nehru rejected the U.S. offer of military assistance on the ground that he could not accept what he opposed in Pakistan's case. Mr. Nehru did not then turn to the Soviet Union for hardware; indeed he did not do so even in 1962 when China attacked India; instead he sought U.S. assistance; and his successor, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, decided to buy Soviet weapons only when America finally

rejected the Indian shopping list as being far in excess of its requirements. We also do not know how the United States would have responded in case Mr. Nehru had accepted its offer in 1954. But we do know that its rejection gave Indian nationalism an anti-U.S. and a pro-Soviet bias.

India figured though not too much, in the Sino-Soviet estrangement. Ironical as it may appear, as India gave an anti-U.S. twist to its foreign policy, China, though sought to be isolated by the same United States, gave a pro-Pakistan bias to its South Asia policy. Neither the Sino-Soviet estrangement nor the pro-Pakistan bias of China's South Asia policy became sufficiently well known up to the end of fifties. By the time they came to be widely recognised, the India-China conflict too had become too obstinate a fact to be easily brushed under the carpet. So when New Delhi finally turned to Moscow for military hardware in 1964, two "alliance" systems of a kind, albeit informal ones, came into existence — the Indo-Soviet one and the Sino-Pakistan one.

The United States, though tied in a security arrangement with Pakistan, could not have sided with either "alliance" in this contest. At that point it was, if anything, much more hostile to China than to the Soviet Union on account of its military involvement in Vietnam and Chinese support for Hanoi. That neutrality might have been one reason why President Johnson was quick to cancel military supplies to both Pakistan and India at the time of the Indo-Pakistani armed conflict in 1965 to the much greater disadvantage of Islamabad because it was much more dependent on them than New Delhi.

Dramatic Turn

The situation, however, took dramatic new turn in 1971. India once again faced the prospect of an armed conflict with Pakistan backed by China or Bangladesh; it decided to go for a friendship treaty with the Soviet Union. And the United States which was already engaged in effort to find an honourable exit out of Vietnam where in any case the Soviet Union had already placed China as the principal source of military support for Hanoi, decided to seek rapprochement with Peking. Mr. Kissinger undertook secret visit to Peking with the Pakistan President General Yahya Khan's help, in July and soon afterwards communicated to the national security council President Nixon's decision to tilt in favour of Pakistan in the conflict with India and Bangladesh. In December 1971

President Nixon despatched a flotilla of the seventh fleet into the Indian Ocean to serve as a warning to Mrs. Gandhi that having won the war in the east, she must not attack Pakistan in the west.

The lines were not clearly drawn. India did not become an ally of the Soviet Union and refused to endorse Mr. Brezhnev's concept of Asian collective security. America sought to mend its fences with India and in 1973-74 actively promoted Indo-Iranian cooperation which inevitably reduced Pakistan's importance in its scheme for South-West Asia. As it began to emerge out of its fit of madness called the "Great proletarian cultural revolution," China too moderated its hostility towards India. But events then took another turn. The Shah of Iran was overthrown in 1979. This put an end to Indo-Iranian cooperation. The Shah supported Daud regime in Afghanistan had collapsed even earlier. This set in motion a chain of events which culminated in direct Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in December 1978. Once again America's attention turned to Pakistan and so did China's.

India could possibly have helped

evolve a political solution to the problem provided Pakistan and Iran had cooperated, assuming of course, that the Soviet Union had not moved into Afghanistan in the pursuit of a long-term design. But this was not to be. The new regime in Teheran was too strongly motivated by religious consideration to respond to an Indian plea for a political solution. The Pakistani generals preferred American guns to cooperation with India. And President Reagan's administration was too hostile to the Soviet Union not to place the worst interpretation on its action in Afghanistan and too militaristic in its approach to be willing to allow India to explore the possibility of a political solution.

Informal Alliances

So once again two informal alliance systems emerged, with India ranged behind the Soviet Union despite its basic opposition to the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan and Pakistan and China behind the United States in its bid to bleed the Soviet Union as much as possible in Afghanistan. Washington is now trying to disrupt the first arrangement and it appears that the Pakistanis and the Chinese are prepared to play along.

The U.S. purpose is self-evident. It wants to reduce India's dependence on arms on the Soviet Union because in the final analysis it wants to add to Moscow's isolation and to promote an India-China-Pakistan entente. America's calculations are also obvious. It sees a new opportunity in Mr. Rajiv Gandhi in view of his technical and nonideological background and passions, India's need for sophisticated technology and the Soviet Union's inability to meet this requirement and to match American weapons. In terms of weapons the U.S. is making a tentative beginning because it cannot match the Soviet terms. But the relationship could grow. Washington, it can be safely assumed, would wish it to develop provided, of course, its other calculations turn out to be accurate.

The U.S. is opening a new anti-Soviet front. It will be naive to miss this fact. But that is no reason for Mr. Gandhi not to explore the possibilities. India needs U.S. goodwill. Surprising though it may seem, this goodwill is not as vital in the field of technology and weapons as in the political field. Other sources are available in respect of technology and weapons which are good enough for India's purpose even if they are not as good as the U.S. But no one can help this country ease its difficulties with Sri Lanka in respect of the Tamil problem and with Pakistan in that of the Sikh issue.

India has managed to turn the Soviet-U.S. competition to its advantage in the past and it is not beyond its capacity to repeat this remarkable performance. The U.S. itself can run into serious problems if it truly looks upon India as a potential great power in South Asia. Neither Pakistan nor China has accepted this proposition in the past and neither can possibly be enthusiastic about such an American perception now.

The key issue now, as in the past, is Pakistan. It cannot but be to India either what Canada is to the U.S. — a friend — or what Cuba is to the U.S. — an irritant. The parallel is not exact but it is good enough to underline the point I wish to make. Pakistan is also not a puppet which the Americans can manipulate to their wishes and purposes. The Soviet presence in Afghanistan has so far cut in one way, it has helped the U.S. to use Pakistan to fight its war with the Soviet Union. But it can also cut the other way. Pakistan can make peace with it to India's and America's embarrassment — in that order.

PERSPECTIVE BY BHABANISEN GUPTA

INDO-US TIES

The Key Issues



THERE are interesting similarities and differences between Indira Gandhi's and Rajiv Gandhi's interactions with the United States and the Soviet Union in the formative years of their respective prime ministerships. Mrs Gandhi's first journey was to Washington, her second to Moscow. In her son's case, the process, however, is reversed; the road to Washington runs through Moscow.

Indira Gandhi began as a weak prime minister in a year of great difficulties for India—the demanding wages of the 1965 war had to be paid in the midst of near-famine conditions; India was heavily dependent on PL-480 grains from the US. Her World Bank-oriented economic advisers counselled a certain degree of submission to American prescriptions to cure the economic ailment: massive devaluation of the rupee, cut down on public subsidies and opening the economy to private foreign investment. Mrs Gandhi had to put up with heavy American pressure to mute her criticism of the bombing of North Vietnam, and was actually punished by President Johnson for praising Ho Chi Minh as a great patriot: each shipment of PL-480 grain to India was required to get the President's personal approval!

Rajiv Gandhi will be going to Washington in June not from a position of weakness but from a position of strength. India is not dependent on the United States for anything whatsoever. India is a food-exporting country. It produces more than one half of the petroleum it consumes. The Indian rupee is quoted in a number of European stock-markets. India makes a great deal of the weapons it needs, and has an assured supplier of high-tech weapons in the Soviet Union on terms and conditions no one else can match. Most of the high technology the United States would like to sell to India can be obtained from Japan and Western Europe very much on Indian terms.

The Indian modernisation programme, to be paced up by Rajiv Gandhi, cannot absorb frontier technology immediately or in the next few years except in very limited areas. Frontier technology demands a long gestation time, and tends to dictate long-term dependencies. Besides, there is the crucial question of long-term consistency and the final reliability of an American connection.

None of these points argues against an improvement in Indo-US

relations. All of them, however, stress India's position of strength. Rajiv Gandhi will be in an excellent position to bargain with the Reagan Administration, demanding an adequate return for everything he may agree to give. An improvement in relations with the United States will make India's role in regional and world affairs stronger still. It will have a sobering impact on policy makers in Pakistan. It will help restore a realistic perspective in the hardliners of President Jayewardene's cabinet. It will make India's relations with the Soviet Union even more equal than it is now, and it may induce the Chinese to walk a little faster on the road of normalisation of relations with both the USSR and India.

However, for none of these desirable benefits has the prime minister to yield more than he can get from the White House. More and more countries are now adopting the bargaining model of negotiations with the United States. France, Japan and China are the principal adopters of the bargaining strategy. India must join their ranks.

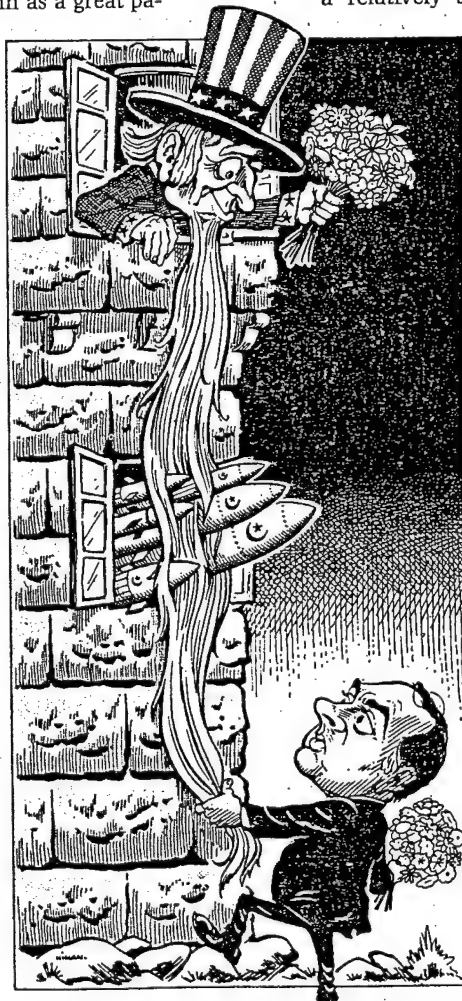
A great euphoria has been built in the United States as well as India around the prime minister's Washington visit. There is undoubtedly an upsurge of American popular interest in India, created largely by a succession of films—*Gandhi*, the tv serial *Jewel in the Crown*, *A Passage to India*, *Heat and Dust*. Several American specialists in international strategic affairs have been taking a new look at India since 1982-83. One can find whiffs of fresh air in the writings and speeches of

a relatively small number of American strategic

thinkers candid enough to acknowledge India's rising stature as an industrialising power and the worldwide decline of American influence.

However, a technicolor arch of wishful hopes has been thrown over these cautious, tentative new-look attitudes towards India. The image-makers in Washington DC have crafted the image of India's new prime minister as young, pro-US, technology-addicted, wedded to private enterprise and a friend of the multinationals. Their counterparts in India have built a rainbow of expectations—large inflows of American private capital and frontier technologies and a fundamental change in India's time-tested development strategies. In getting ready for his Washington visit, the prime minister has to ask himself two basic questions: what does the US want from India and what is it prepared to give in return? And secondly, what it is that India would like to get from the US and what can India afford to give in return?

Americans have prospected the post-Indira Gandhi Indian scene in depth. Since November 1 last year, nearly a hundred American vips have been to India probing, exploring, groping, reappraising. Nothing comparable has been done by India. Rajiv Gandhi has been relying on the competent Indian ambassador



in Washington, on a few of his economic advisers who have scoured the American scene since his assumption of office, and on the wisdom of men like Chairman G. Parthasarathy and Foreign Secretary Romesh Bhandari to acquire a realistic grasp of the United States in the first year of Ronald Reagan's lame-duck second Administration.

At the same time, the men who constitute his closest circle of aides are heavily drawn from the worlds of computers and multinationals; many of them have been closely connected with the World Bank and the IMF. Are they competent enough to supply the prime minister with adequate answers to the two questions he must put to them? Are they sufficiently aware of India's strength? Do they comprehend the strategy of bargaining necessarily involved in negotiations between and among nations?

From what important Americans have been saying publicly and privately since January, it is possible to frame an outline of US expectations of India ruled by Rajiv Gandhi. In the political-strategic field, they want India to be "genuinely non-aligned", that is, a little visibly distant from the Soviet Union, at least moderately critical of the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan, less "paranoid" about the flow of American arms to Pakistan, and a little more "understanding" of the US role in world affairs, including Latin American and Indian Ocean developments.

Economically, the Reagan Administration wants India to throw its doors wide open to private foreign investment, adopt a friendly attitude towards the multinationals, and further relax the terms and conditions for American participation in India's economic modernisation. Last but not the least, India must not be nasty in dealing with Union Carbide for what unfortunately did happen in Bhopal.

What, now, are India's expectations of the Reagan Administration? First and foremost, restraining the transfer of high technology arms and weapons to Pakistan. Simultaneously, effective pressure on Pakistan not to explode a nuclear device; the pressure must produce a commitment from General Zia that would be credible to the international community. Thirdly, a stand-off from South Asia, a commitment not to supply arms and weapons to India's smaller neighbours, and a lowering of naval activity in the Indian Ocean.

On the economic side, India's first expectation is the relaxation of quota and other visible and not-so-visible restrictions on exports to the United States. Increasing US private capital investment in select key sectors of the Indian economy largely on the terms and conditions India has offered, and which are found to be acceptable (even if not covetable) by Japan and the West European countries. Last but not the least, India should be allowed to import without restrictions and without conditions some of the latest technologies it may need, and the supplies must be assured over a long time.

What can India give the United States if one or more of its expectations are met by Reagan? A visible distance from the Soviet Union? Lowering the profile of Indo-Soviet friendship? A no-war pact with Pakistan? Muting criticism of American policies and activities in Central America, the Middle East and southern Africa? An Indian version of Reaganomics? Giving US multinationals equity control and unlimited profit export

as a price for investment in India? Purchase of American arms without insisting on transfer of military technology? Giving up India's support for the international conference on the Indian Ocean now delayed till 1987? Supporting Israel rather than the PLO, South Africa rather than SWAPO?

When it comes to the bargaining strategy during the prime minister's Washington visit, he will find that the Reagan Administration cannot or shall not give him much. A new treaty involving as much as \$ 6 billion in economic and military aid to Pakistan covering the latter half of the decade is under negotiation. Some US sources indicate that it is almost wrapped up.

Nor will Rajiv Gandhi find much scope to increase Indian exports to the US. The US is *not* India's number one trade partner if the value of the sale of Bombay High crude, totalling nearly \$1 billion in 1984, is taken off the two-way turnover of \$3 billion. Indian exports to the US fluctuate within a narrow margin of \$1 billion and \$1.4 billion. Apart from petroleum, readymade garments and diamonds are the only two items whose exports touch \$100 million a year. With another slow-down coming upon the US economy, protectionist pressures mounting, and a virtual trade war raging between Washington and Tokyo, it is highly doubtful if Indo-US trade can pick up very much in the next few years.

Nor will the prime minister find the MNCs bending over backwards to invest in India unless he is willing to give them terms he has not had to give the Japanese, who are willing to come into the Indian market in a much bigger way, even with dual-purpose technology. Despite the

liberalisation of investment terms, US private capital investment in India hasn't crossed \$500,000. In contrast Americans invested in Hong Kong \$2 billion, in Indonesia \$1.3 billion, in the Philippines \$1.24 billion and in Singapore \$1.19 billion at the turn of the decade.

Which side, then, will come forward to break new ground to give a forward push to India-US relations? The Reagan Administration is the most ideologically committed regime installed in Washington since World War II. Its effective foreign policy strategists do not sit on the seventh floor of the State Department building at Foggy Bottom; they are either in the White House or in the right and far-right think-tanks or in the Pentagon. They will not change their military or economic ideology in order to woo India. They will expect Rajiv Gandhi to take two steps before they take half a step forward to meet him. Still, the prime minister may gain a modest harvest if he can play the card of India's rising strength as deftly in Washington as he did in Moscow.

But Rajiv Gandhi, sticking to the bargaining model of negotiations, may induce some far-sighted MNCs to invest in select areas of the Indian economy by and large on Indian terms. He may get the transfer of certain frontier dual-purpose technologies with no strings attached. All that he may yield is to buy certain advance weapon systems from the US provided military technology is also transferred on a long-term basis with no conditions involved. More than this level of improvement in Indo-US relations must wait upon newer times when a less ideologically committed and less bellicose cold warrior takes the presidential chair in the Oval Office.

Rajiv Gandhi will be in an excellent position to bargain with the Reagan Administration, demanding an adequate return for everything he may agree to give.

INDIAN EXPRESS

Bombay: Wednesday, June 5, 1985

BON VOYAGE

CLOSELY following his Soviet visit, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's journey to the United States, France, Egypt and Algeria completes his debut in international diplomacy. This exposure to the media and addresses to a variety of friendly but critical audiences will define the view that the leaders and peoples of these countries take of his promised leadership of India into the 21st century. Security has been tightened everywhere in view of potential threats and the nation will wish him well on this Odyssey. Coincidentally, he will be inaugurating two elaborate Festivals of India in France and the United States that are designed to portray the unbroken continuity of a timeless culture in a changing and extraordinarily diverse and, therefore, complex society. This too should be an aid to better understanding.

Despite India's new modernising thrust based on more open and liberal economic policies and technological imports, there is no question of any dramatic new alignments emerging from this visit. Most important will be the rapport that Mr Gandhi will hopefully be able to establish with his hosts and the creation of a framework of understanding and cooperation even though they agree to differ on certain issues. The Prime Minister plans to tell Mr Reagan of his concern over the flow of US military supplies to Pakistan and the prospect of Islamabad going nuclear, which Washington has not acted sufficiently determinedly to prevent. While it is proper that the President clearly knows Mr Gandhi's mind, it would be unwise once again for India to make Pakistan the touchstone of its relations with third countries. India has to act autonomously to shape policy, especially in its own neighbourhood. Discussion on Afghanistan would be fruitful, especially in terms of an Indian role through quiet diplomacy to bring about non-interference in and foreign troop withdrawals from that unhappy country in the context of non-alignment and SAARC. The two leaders will of course review the global scene, including disarmament, various trouble spots around the world, and North-South economic relations. Bilateral issues will feature. The US is India's largest trading partner and technology transfer, private investment and possible US military sales are expected to figure in the exchanges.

India's growing relations with France, temporarily marred by the spy scandal, are likely to receive fresh impetus with Mr Gandhi's visit. France and the EEC are projecting themselves as a third force independent of the super powers in the matter of economic and technological cooperation, military sales and, increasingly, political collaboration. Egypt and Algeria are Arab friends and non-aligned partners with whom India has traditionally enjoyed cordial ties. Egypt has returned to the Arab fold and, with Jordan, has been working on a new approach to the West Asian situation. This would be something to know more about.

SECURITY/DEMONSTRATIONS

'Best security' for PM abroad

NEW DELHI, May 15 (UNI).

THE best possible security arrangements were being made for Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi during his visit to foreign countries next month, the Government assured the Lok Sabha today.

Intervening in a two-hour debate on the US Federal Bureau of Investigations (FBI) unearthing a plot to assassinate the Prime Minister, Communications Minister Ram Niwas Mirdha told the House, "We have a well-laid out exercise as to how to handle the security" of the Prime Minister. "Our people are in touch with the respective governments".

PTI adds: Mr. Mirdha said there was no change in the schedule of Mr. Gandhi's visit abroad.

He said teams had already been despatched to the US and France to co-ordinate security measures for the Prime Minister's visit with the official agencies of these countries.

Mr. Mirdha shared the sentiments of the members that the threats of the terrorists could not be taken lightly and said "These threats had now taken the shape of diabolical plots and conspiracies". He said measures had also been taken within the country to combat these threats.

Appreciating the role of the FBI in taking prompt action in uncovering the plot and action against the culprits, the minister regretted that many other countries, like Pakistan, England, West Germany and even the United States in the past, had ignored warnings given by the Indian Government about the activities of the Sikh extremists.

Mr. Mirdha said that the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) had even allowed open threats against Mrs. Indira Gandhi to go on the air. This was coupled with ransacking of Indian High Commissions in the UK and Canada, he said.

He regretted that even, "permissible action under the law of these countries was not taken against the culprits". The minister hoped that with the uncovering of the plot, these countries would take coordinated

efforts to expose the activities of the terrorists.

Cutting across party-line, members expressed their anguish and shock over the "dark and diabolical plot" and called for an internationally-coordinated effort to expose the central command of terrorists.

The members were, however, divided on the question whether the Prime Minister should undertake his proposed foreign tour.

The members, generally congratulated the FBI for uncovering the plot but cautioned against CIA activities.

Moving the motion, Mr. G. G. Swell (Cong-I) said the plot was not only directed against the Prime Minister but against the people of India too. "The Prime Minister of this country is not just a head of the Government, but he is the symbol, will and direction of the overwhelming majority of the country", he said.

Prof. Madhu Dandavate (Janata) urged the Government not to cancel the visit since that would amount to an "abject surrender to the deplorable coercive tactics of the extremists abroad".

Mr. Swell regretted that the Indian intelligence system had once again failed to warn the Government of the activities of terrorists in India, particularly regarding recent bomb blasts.

Mr. C. Madhav Reddy (Telugu Desam) said it was good that FBI had exposed the plot but doubted whether the American security service, which could not protect their own Presidents like Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy, could provide security to our Prime Minister.

He suggested the Prime Minister should defer his tour to a later date.

For the Gandhis' Visit, a Fast Pace & Tight Security

By Elizabeth Kastor
Washington Post Staff Writer

With Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's arrival this afternoon, a new world leader will be introduced to the West. The Gandhis' event-packed four-day state visit coincides with the beginning of the 18-month-long Festival of India, a nationwide celebration of Indian culture.

Gandhi, who is expected to be accompanied by his wife much of the time, will make the traditional rounds, from the White House to the State Department and to Capitol Hill. He will also visit two museum exhibits, attend a state dinner, appear at four receptions here and in Houston, speak to the National Press Club, confer with four Cabinet secretaries, listen to a Festival inaugural concert and address a joint session of Congress.

He will also meet with a

See VISIT, C4, Col. 1

VISIT, From C1

group of Indian physicians, three groups of Indians living in the United States, a group of American scientists and astronomer Carl Sagan.

He probably will not have time to see much of his two children, who are accompanying him and his wife, Sonia. "It's a very tight schedule," said Indian Embassy spokesman Deepak Vohra.

After leaving Washington later in the week, Gandhi will tour the Astronaut Training Facilities and Mission Control Room at the Johnson Space Center in Houston, meet with the mayor of the city and with representatives of high-technology firms.

Throughout all of this, the 40-year-old Gandhi, whose visit is expected to spark Sikh demonstrations here, will be under very tight security. Following the assassination of his mother, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, by Sikh bodyguards in October 1984 and last month's arrest in New Orleans of a small group of Sikhs on charges of plotting to kill Rajiv Gandhi, Indian and American authorities have been operating with more than the usual secretiveness.

The entire Gandhi family will attend the state arrival ceremony at the White House, but otherwise the embassy is not releasing any information about separate schedules for Sonia Gandhi, their 13-year-old daughter Priyanka and 11-year-old son Rahul. The Gandhis will be staying at the ambassador's residence, instead of at a hotel.

"There are several factors involved," the embassy spokesman said. "Suffice it to say, the prime minister most graciously agreed to stay at the residence."

Originally, Indira Gandhi was scheduled to open the Festival but when her son became prime minister after her death, the trip was upgraded to a state visit.

Sagan, the Cornell University astronomer, along with several others, will present a statement to Gandhi supporting the Five Continent Peace Initiative, a movement to halt the testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons. Gandhi has been involved in the initiative.

The Indian leader's visit to Houston, says a source close to the prime minister, stems from Gandhi's "own interest in high technology, space, air . . . and shows sort of a 20th-century young man in all ways, the excitement, the promise of space and his curiosity."

And if American press coverage of all of this is inevitable, imagine the Indian interest.

Betty Bradley, public relations director at the Embassy Row Hotel, says the Indian press corps accompanying Gandhi and artists involved in the festival have taken about 60 rooms.

"If you could see downstairs, you would not believe it," she said. "They took our whole ballroom and turned it into a press room. They have 10 telexes set up. We even had to give them a darkroom. I put a darkroom into what used to be a kitchen."

Source Washington Post, 13 June 1985, p. A7

Sikhs Protest Visit by Gandhi

Rally Held Near White House

By I. Rajeswary and Patrice Gaines-Carter
Washington Post Staff Writers

About 1,500 Sikhs, wearing saffron scarfs and turbans, rallied in sight of the White House yesterday to protest a meeting between President Reagan and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and to charge that 50,000 of their countrymen have been killed by the Indian government.

Marching up Pennsylvania Avenue, the Sikhs—including groups from Canada, California, North Carolina, Texas and New York—formed a sea of saffron, the color of the Sikh religious flag, which is "a symbol of rebellion and rejection of Rajiv Gandhi's suppression" of the Sikhs, according to a Sikh leader.

"Sikhs want freedom because India has failed to deliver," said Dr. Hadam Singh Azad, chairman of the Sikh Association of America. "I accuse the Western World of its silence," he said. "How can they tolerate such a violation of human rights?"

As they marched from Lafayette Park to the west lawn of the Capitol, the protesters chanted slogans like "Rajiv Gandhi, a modern Hitler!" and "Rajiv Gandhi: Soviet puppet!"

Men, women and children carried posters with handwritten messages such as "Stop Genocide of the Sikhs in India" and "Live free or die! We want Khalistan!" referring to the Sikhs' desire for an autonomous homeland in India.

Gandhi arrived at the south entrance of the White House, on the opposite side of the building from the protest. The chants from the crowd were amplified by bullhorns through the streets and could be heard in the distance during Gandhi's arrival ceremony.

About a dozen mounted police officers faced the gathering at the park, and although security appeared tight, a U.S. Park Police officer said, "We were expecting a very peaceful demonstration. We are even wearing soft hats. If we expected violence, we would not be wearing these hats."

"We want to tell the kid [Gandhi] that the Sikhs do not approve of his policies of persecution against the Sikhs," explained Buttar Amarjit, a demonstrator from Hartford, Conn. "We also want to tell the American tax-



BY LUCIAN PERKINS—THE WASHINGTON POST
Demonstrators hold signs protesting treatment of Sikhs.

payers to make sure that their dollars are not siphoned to Russia by India."

Some of the protesters wore "Stop U.S. Aid to Russian Ally, India" buttons and "Join the Sant Bhindranwale movement" T-shirts. Bhindranwale was the Sikh leader killed when the Indian army stormed the Golden Temple last June. He is now regarded as a saint by Sikhs.

The final rally at the Capitol began with a prayer followed by a solemn religious song. "We have accomplished a tremendous goal," Azad said. "I am convinced this voice will be heard here as well as in New Delhi."

"I'd like all of you when you go home to have this resolution in your minds: We will not let up. We will not forget [the massacre of Sikhs in the Golden Temple]. We will continue our struggle until such time that basic rights are restored to the Sikhs," he said.

The rally ended with a prayer, after which the Sikhs bent to touch the ground with their foreheads as a mark of respect for those killed at the Golden Temple.

US Sikhs plan anti-Rajiv rally

From Sharon Butler

Washington, May 25: The World Sikh Organisation has applied for a permit from the United States authorities to hold a demonstration during the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi's official visit to Washington in June, claiming that 10,000 people would attend to protest the Indian government's policies.

The permit, required under federal regulation for large demonstrations in the vicinity of the White House, is under consideration by the US Park Service, which issued such permits, and is likely to be approved. Since the US Constitution safeguards the right to free speech, a permit can be denied only if the location for the proposed demonstration has already been reserved for another group.

The Park Service has asked the WSO leadership, including Major-General Jaswant Singh Bhullar, former military adviser to Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale, for a meeting to discuss the demonstration as the WSO was projecting such a large number of participants. They would discuss the type of activity the group is planning so that logistics and security measures can be worked out and the park service can make sure that the activity conforms with US laws. The carrying of weapons, for example, was not permitted, but demonstrators could conduct acts of civil disobedience.

The WSO, which claims 200,000 members in the US, Canada and Great Britain, last year adopted a resolution calling for the establishment of Khalistan, "an independent

sovereign country of the Sikh nation encompassing the present Punjab and the rest of the Sikh majority areas of India."

Major-General Bhullar has said that WSO "would strive to ensure that demonstrations by Sikhs" during the Prime Minister's visit "would be peaceful." Claiming that over 30,000 Sikhs have been murdered since the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi "with no arrests, investigations or prosecutions by Indian authorities," he said that the purpose of the demonstrations would be to raise "legal and human rights issues to the world community." He added that Sikh demonstrators would follow the Prime Minister wherever he went in the US.

Detonation device found

WASHINGTON, June 13.—A detonation device was discovered by the U.S. security services just before the Prime Minister and his delegation were to arrive at the State Department for lunch as guests of the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. George Shultz, reports UNI.

The device was kept in a bag. However, no bomb in it. The U.S. sources were silent on the exact location where the bag was found. It was, however, learnt that the bag was found beneath the staircase. The security services have begun investigations.

It was believed that a possible terrorist plan had been pre-empted.

US Sikhs begin campaign

From Our Correspondent

Washington, June 11: Sikh organisations have begun a week-long campaign to draw American attention to "human rights violations" against the their community in India, pledging to stage peaceful demonstrations when the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, arrives this evening for his official visit.

Wearing a kesari turban, Dr Hardam Singh Azad, chairman of the Sikh Association of America, charged yesterday that the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which recently uncovered a Sikh extremist plot to assassinate Mr Gandhi, had been "duped" and the plot had been "set up."

Addressing a small press conference at the National Press Club, Dr Azad also claimed that there were no Sikh terrorists in India, but that the men were "Hindus masquerading as

Sikhs." At the same time, he said his organisation and all Sikh organisations in the US eschewed all violence to advance political demands, and he blamed the Indian government for "painting all Sikhs as radicals."

The association also handed out copies of the inquiry into the causes of the riots in Delhi after the assassination of Mrs Gandhi, published by the People's Union for Democratic Rights and the People's Union for Civil Liberties. In addition, the group showed slides of the Army occupation of the Golden Temple complex, with pictures of groups of women with their hands tied behind their backs, and of the Army dragging dead bodies across the floor in a pool of blood.

Dhillon meets press

Mr Ganga Singh Dhillon, president of the London-based Sikh Commonwealth, also wearing a kesari turban, spoke at a breakfast meeting at the National Press Club this morning. The meeting was well attended by over two dozen western newsmen and had become controversial because the Indian embassy, in reaction to the scheduling of the meeting, threatened to cancel the Prime Minister's appearance at the National Press Club luncheon on Friday.

Referring to the controversy, Mr Dhillon said, "If he is against Americans speaking freely in America, imagine what he might be doing to suppress dissent in India where he controls all the guns." Like Dr Azad, he accused the Indian government of "genocide" and like Dr Azad, linked his cause with an anti-communist posture.

"Soviets also want Punjab to be controlled by a more faithful

Hindu community rather than Sikhs who believe in one God and will never accept communism," Mr Dhillon said.

"The Reagan Administration is eager to improve relations with India. As an American Sikh, I advocate peace and harmony with all nations and political entities," he went on. "But we should not be taken for a ride. Since its independence, India has not condemned Soviet actions...it has not supported US actions anywhere. India will use its economic and trade clout to blackmail the US to get its way and continue to support pro-Soviet causes."

Mr Dhillon hedged over the question of a Khalistan, saying that if an independent and sovereign nation was the only way for Sikhs to obtain freedom, then he would support a Khalistan.

PAK CORRESPONDENT SPONSORED DHILLON

From WARREN UNNA

WASHINGTON, June 9.—It was a correspondent for a Pakistani newspaper who sponsored the forthcoming reporters' breakfast at the National Press Club for the Khalistan proponent, Ganga Singh Dhillon. This breakfast, next Tuesday, now has so infuriated the Government of India that they are thinking of cancelling Prime Minister Gandhi's luncheon at this same National Press Club a few days later.

The National Press Club's president, David Hess, the White House correspondent for the Knight-Ridder newspaper chain, told The Statesman yesterday that a club member, Nayyar Zaidi, who Hess thought "might be a Pakistani," had requested that Dhillon be honoured with the chance to sit down with Washington reporters at one of the regular club breakfasts; that Hess had been out of town at the time; but that his breakfast committee chairman, Ken Dalecki of the Kiplinger news service, had granted the required approval.

"I was just assisting", Zaidi explained when reached by telephone. "I helped with the arrangements for the Sri Lanka President and the King of Nepal. And if they had assigned me Rajiv Gandhi, I would have done that too. I was on the committee for several years. But I wouldn't say I got Dhillon invited. After all, who am I?"

Zaidi said he works for Jang, "Pakistan's biggest daily", as well as for the U.S. Government's Voice of America—although he and they currently have a "dispute" going on. He also said he has been a U.S. citizen for many years.

Elsewhere, it was learned that Zaidi long has been considered "close" to the Government in Islamabad, once worked for both the U.S. Consulate-General in Karachi and the Bell telephone company here in America, and writes frequently for the Washington Times

on both the Sikh problems and Indo-Soviet ties. The Washington Times is owned by a Right-wing religious sect nicknamed the "Moonies", a group which Indian intelligence lately has become convinced has strong sympathies with overseas Sikh extremist groups.

"We were approached and asked if it would be all right for Mr. Dhillon to appear at the club", National Press Club president Hess said. "I was away at the time and by the time I got back I realized the timing was a bit sticky. But the situation invitation was already out and we were obliged to let him have the time. Sometimes we are not aware of the ins and outs."

"I can appreciate how the Prime Minister must feel after his mother was murdered by extremists," Hess continued. "But the timing was

(Continued on page 9 col. 4)

P.M. advised to change venue

WASHINGTON, June 9.—The Prime Minister has been advised to speak to the world Press from a platform other than the National Press Club, according to sources here, reports UNI.

This suggestion has followed the decision by the NPC management to stand by its invitation to the Khalistan protagonist, Mr. Ganga Singh Dhillon to address a breakfast meeting at the club on June 11. Mr. Gandhi is scheduled to address the club on June 14.

Sources said Mr. Gandhi had been placed in a "Catch-22" situation where either way the Prime Minister loses face.

Circles close to the Indian authorities in Washington feel there are two options before Mr. Gandhi—either to go ahead with his NPC appearance and risk the political fallout or to cancel the engagement and by default give a victory of sorts to Mr. Dhillon.

Indian officials incensed

(Continued from page 1 col. 5)

really not a deliberate attempt to insult Mr. Gandhi. I should think that, as the leader of a country as large as his, he wouldn't be so possessed over one obscure man. And when you compare the two forums—Mr. Dhillon's Press breakfast, and it is not even a breakfast, doesn't attract more than a dozen people. Prime Minister Gandhi's luncheon on Friday will be covered by 1,800 C-span stations, 300 national public radio stations, probably all three of the V. R. national television networks, every major radio network, and he also will be having the last word after the questions.

Club president Hess was asked whether he had been queried by the FBI, which recently accused seven Sikhs of conspiring to assassinate both Prime Minister Gandhi and Haryana's Chief Minister, Bhajan Lal, during their visits here. "No," he replied, "but we certainly have heard a lot from both the Indian Embassy and the State Department."

The Indian Embassy has compared scheduling a breakfast for Ganga Singh Dhillon on this coming Tuesday morning, on the very day of Prime Minister Gandhi's arrival here for an official visit, as like inviting the Irish Republican Army to lead off a visit by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. The Indian Government officials

accompanying the Prime Minister during the Paris part of his tour were reported to be incensed.

India's Ambassador to the USA, K. Shankar Bajpai, when asked whether there was truth to the report that the Prime Minister now might cancel his National Press Club luncheon appearance here this Friday, one of the highlights of his forthcoming visit, would say only: "The position is being looked into."

MISCHIEF IN WASHINGTON

THE Reagan Administration is probably as embarrassed as the Indian Government over the invitation to Mr Ganga Singh Dhillon by the National Press Club of the USA. The Club's president, Mr David Hess, may be sincere in saying that no slight to Mr Rajiv Gandhi was intended, but that can only suggest a general lack of awareness about conditions in India. It is now almost a heads-I-win-tails-you-lose situation as far as the Khalistan proponents are concerned: if Mr Gandhi cancels Friday's luncheon at the NPC, he may be seen by many Americans to be unduly "possessed over one obscure man" as Mr Hess has suggested; if he goes ahead with the meeting, it may be interpreted as lending credibility to a secessionist cause. The latter inference would be so offensive to Indian sentiment that the Prime Minister seems to have no option but to decline the Press Club invitation. In a sense, the Khalistan activists have already achieved what they were after: international media attention.

A journalist of Pakistani origin, who is said to work for a leading Pakistani newspaper, has contrived this embarrassing situation. That he is further said to be close to

the regime in Islamabad may not be entirely coincidental, especially considering Mr Dhillon's intimate contacts with Pakistan. The journalist seems to have influential friends in Washington as well, and is reported to have once worked for the U.S. Consulate-General in Karachi. No hasty inference should be drawn from all this, but the links are bound to raise questions in India. This could have been easily avoided if the NPC had been more alert and discerning. If the Press Club fails to understand why India should be so sensitive about such matters, it must be singularly uninformed and unperceptive. Resentment at the NPC's handling of the matter cannot, however, obscure the fact that the Indian Embassy in Washington, too, was not alert enough. While the Washington correspondent of Pakistan's Jang wangled an invitation for a Khalistan proponent with remarkable adroitness, the Indian mission seems to have been unaware of his moves till the final arrangement for Mr Dhillon's speech became generally known. The Khalistanis and their friends in the USA seem to operate far more efficiently than the diplomats posted there to protect India's interests.

COMINGS AND GOINGS

Gandhi's Gala Day

All Over Washington and at the White House, It's 'the Year of India'

Ronald Reagan called it "the year of India," and then got down to how he thought things went yesterday in meetings with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. "We hit it off," the president announced in his toast at last night's state dinner for Gandhi.

"I think we did," Gandhi concurred a little later in the Blue Room where he and Reagan held court for a dazzling international crowd seen as often as not in the slick color pages of jet-setty W.

But, Gandhi was asked, did it mean that the sometimes troubled Indo-American relations were going to get better?

"Well, you know," the 40-year-old Indian leader replied, "to expect suddenly that everything will change maybe is a bit over-optimistic. But certainly they will move in the right direction. There are lots of areas where we have disagreement, but disagreement not necessarily on the principle of the thing but in the method of tackling the issue."

Gandhi said he talked "very frankly about everything" to Reagan during their Oval Office meeting. "I think we had a very frank exchange on both sides, an amicable frank, not aggressive frank."

The big question of the day, as Gandhi moved about Washington, was whether he'd carry on the political philosophy of his mother, the late prime minister Indira Gandhi. He answered that question, too, with "in many ways, yes, but in many ways I am myself."

Because a state dinner is a state dinner, there were also the largely formulaic toasts.

"Although young, India's democracy has achieved strength and maturity," Reagan said. "Today I found that's also true of India's prime minister who's just three years older than independent India."

This article was reported by staff writers Donnie Radcliffe, Elizabeth Kastor and Lois Romano.

"Although a few years separate us—just a few," he continued, and paused for the inevitable appreciative laughter, "we hit it off."

Gandhi spoke longer, covering the subjects of the arms race, nonalignment and "the growing militarism of the region around India."

"Nonalignment has been a positive force for peace," he said. "One friendship need not be at the cost of another."

Later, using an American idiom, as observers say he often does, Gandhi said, "We need technology in a big way."

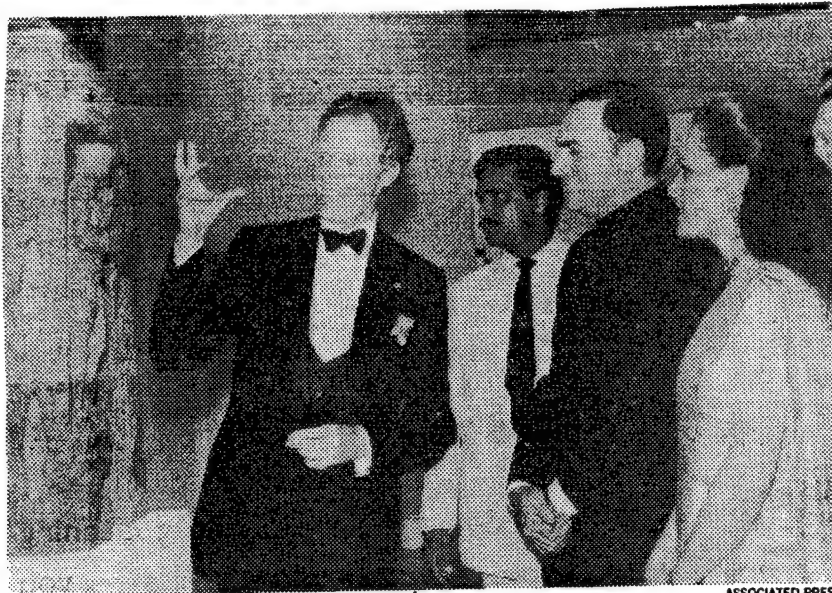
Many of the White House guests had some connection to India. The list included several people involved with the Festival of India, which opens today, including the festival's Indian chairman, Pupul Jayakar.

Others were there for the usual reasons: friendship, money or glitz. Nancy Reagan's

See DINNER, D13, Col. 1

DINNER, From D1

friends and family were in evidence, with Betsy Bloomingdale and Nancy Reagan's brother Richard Davis attending. The list was short on the Hollywood glamor, which the Reagans enjoy, but Bloomingdale, Parisian socialite Sao Schlumberger and fashion designer Mary McFadden provided the familiar faces and threads for followers of haute couture and readers of W. Two other names from the social pages were those of Baron Guy de Rothschild and Baroness Marie-Hélène de Rothschild.



ASSOCIATED PRESS



BY FRANK JOHNSTON—THE WASHINGTON POST



BY HARRY NALTCHAYAN—THE WASHINGTON POST

Above left, National Gallery Director J. Carter Brown with the Gandhis; left, Gandhi with wife Sonia and George Shultz; above, the Gandhis and the Reagans at last night's dinner. Below, sitarist Ravi Shankar at the Watergate Hotel.

And for some reason known only to the social secretary, the usual contingent of journalists was a little larger than usual, with publisher Rupert Murdoch, New York Times executive editor A.M. Rosenthal, New Republic writer Charles Krauthammer, Newsweek bureau chief Morton Kondracke, and Atlanta Constitution columnist Lewis Grizzard as guests.

For the White House dinner, a star-studded guest list. Page D14

Some of the guests knew a little bit more about India than can be learned during the time between receiving a White House invitation and arriving in Washington.

"I had a meeting with him in January," said former secretary of state Henry Kissinger of the Indian prime minister. "Extremely thoughtful."

Is Gandhi much like his late mother?

"He's much younger," Kissinger said gravely, as if revealing a state secret. His wife Nancy laughed, he smiled and took one step back to signal reluctance.

"I better not get into that," he said.

Actress Loretta Young, who last attended a state dinner during Franklin Roosevelt's administration, had what seemed to be a largely esthetic interest in India and its new leader.

"Went to India about 15 years ago," she said. "Went to see, of course, the Taj Mahal, the most beautiful building."

And of Rajiv Gandhi, she said, "He's not only a delightful man, but gorgeous to look at."

The gorgeous state leader was clad in a black Nehru jacket and his wife Sonia, a native of Italy, in a gold and pale green sari. Unlike the Indian silk dresses many of the women guests wore, Nancy Reagan's white silk skirt and green and white beaded blouse looked more like a feminized dinner jacket than anything from the Subcontinent.



PHOTOS BY HARRY NALTCHAYAN—THE WASHINGTON POST

Nancy Mehta, left, and Loretta Young at last night's state dinner.

At any state dinner you'll see guests who clearly feel right at home. Last night, Sheila Weidenfeld, an aide to Betty Ford, had none of the bedazzled glint in the eye that comes to White House neophytes as she chatted with photographers. And while Grizzard may have been a newcomer to state dinners, he had been through the White House experience once before, although in a somewhat different form.

"Last time I was here," said Grizzard, "we were in the back yard listening to Willie Nelson and drinking beer."

After a dinner that included crab and cucumber mousse, supreme of cornish hen, fine herbs sauce, wild rice with toasted walnuts, baby zucchini; bib lettuce and chocolate boxes with fruit sorbets and peach champagne sauce, guests went to the East Room, where cellist Mstislav Rostropovich, the National Symphony music director, performed.

Earlier yesterday, sirens blared as the Gandhis' 13-car entourage whooshed them through the streets of Washington.

"Aren't they so attractive?" gushed J. Carter Brown, director of the National Gallery of Art, moments after the Gandhis left a gallery on their way to the White House state dinner. "And so thoughtful and interested. I've been through the museum with heads of state before, and you can tell when all they care about is the photo opportunity. Mrs. Gandhi had actually read the catalogue!"

At the gallery, Betsy Bloomingdale arrived with a traffic-stopping, off-the-shoulder red gown. Attached to her back was matching bow about the size of a Volkswagen.

"I wonder how she got in the car?" observed one guest.

The Gandhis arrived at the gallery at 6:45 p.m., amid the excruciatingly tight security that has marked their visit. In part, the fears arise from the assassination of Gandhi's mother, Indira Gandhi, by Sikh bodyguards last year.

At the gallery, the guests, reporters and staff were forced to go through metal detectors. A bartender complained that he wasn't allowed to bring his ice pick with him. The press pool was also unusually small, causing one minor flap.

Coca-Cola underwrote the party, and a young man identifying himself as an executive assistant to the president of the company demanded that a Newsweek photographer be allowed in the pool. The gallery official, Katherine Warwick, explained that it was not possible.

"Madame, may I remind you that we are paying for this," he yelled.

"Not all of it, dear," said Warwick, patting his hand.

"We will never pay for another damn thing again!" he snapped. She smiled and phoned Carter Brown, who also said no go.

"You'll be hearing from me," screeched the man, and off he went.

Brown took the Gandhis through the exhibit, "The Sculpture of India," an integral part of the Festival of India, one of the reasons for the prime minister's visit at this time.

"You just get this sense that they both have a marvelous sense of their own being," said Brown. "I must say they are among the most interested people I have brought around this museum."

Earlier in the day, Establishment Washington went to lunch with Gandhi amid security precautions so rigid that some who arrived by cab had to hoof it the last rainswept block to the red-carpeted entrance at the State Department.

Even top-level State Department officials invited to the lunch given by Shultz had to exit the building, walk around it and reenter on C Street, where, like all the other guests, they passed through airport-style magnetometers.

If Foggy Bottom was like an armed camp outside, where demonstrations failed to materialize against the 40-year-old Indian leader, inside the elegant Diplomatic Reception Rooms the climate could

not have been more tranquil. Gandhi, with his wife Sonia, her forehead dotted with a minuscule tilak and wearing a bright green and navy silk sari, received the 200 guests with Shultz and his wife Helena.

It was, as one State Department official put it, "a star-studded guest list," with names like Maureen Reagan, Happy Rockefeller, David Rockefeller and Beverly Sills.

Some of the guests had had their differences with Gandhi's mother, the late Indira Gandhi, but it fell to Shultz to put an optimistic spin on the sometimes troubled Indo-American relations.

"Despite differences," Shultz said in his toast to Gandhi after everyone had dined on lamb chops, asparagus and corn bread, "we see a significant parallelism of interests between us."

In the crowd were at least four former U.S. ambassadors to India: John Kenneth Galbraith, Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan, John Sherman Cooper and William Saxbe.

If their impressions of Rajiv Gandhi weren't yet quite formed, a couple of them didn't hesitate to recall their impressions of his mother.

"Mrs. Gandhi and I got along well but she could be aggravating," said the characteristically outspoken Saxbe, who was ambassador from 1975-77. "She played one country off against another. I'm sure Russia was as frustrated with India as we were. She didn't play favorites that way."

Cooper, who was Dwight Eisenhower's envoy to India from 1955-56, remembered Rajiv Gandhi's grandfather, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, as a man who had been much criticized for India's nonaligned position. He first met Indira Gandhi when she was her father's hostess, after she had separated from her husband and "the little fellows [Rajiv and his late brother Sanjay] were so little that I never saw them."

Cooper said he first met Rajiv Gandhi last fall at Indira Gandhi's funeral and came away with the feeling that he was more like his grandfather than his mother.

"I think he is different," said Cooper, who did not always approve of Indira Gandhi's politics.

Moynihan, ambassador to India from 1973-75, said that politically Rajiv Gandhi may resemble his mother, "but there's a rule we used to say in our government classes that no single thing predicts a person's politics more accurately than his age."

Galbraith, John Kennedy's ambassador to India from 1961-63, and still the diplomat 22 years later, said of any resemblance between Gandhi and his mother: "In the finest Indian tradition, everybody has his own territory." Rhetorically, he added, "You remind me of your father—but not all that much."

On the status of U.S.-Indian relations, Galbraith said he told some reporters that "the breakthrough had already been achieved with 'A Passage to India' and 'The Jewel in the Crown.' And I had not recently seen any Indian who did not want to come to the United States and any American who did not want to go to India."

Some guests weren't exactly sure how they happened to be invited, though none cared to be on the record about it. One prominent Republican said in fact it was the first time he'd been invited to anything under this administration.

Happy Rockefeller, who was also making a rare appearance at an official Washington function, said she met Indira Gandhi when her late husband Nelson was governor of New York, but that Rajiv represents a whole new generation.

"You know, it's funny," she said. "I see my daughter's friends now having children and it makes me think that George Gershwin really summarized life in 'Ole Man River just keeps rolling along.'"

Robotic Razzle-Dazzle Fails to Captivate Gandhi

Indian Leader Eyes Practical Technology

By Boyce Rensberger
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rajiv Gandhi, leader of a country where the chief health problems stem from poor sanitation, went to the National Academy of Sciences yesterday for a briefing on technologies that the moguls of American science thought might interest him.

They showed him a robot that performs brain surgery.

The Indian prime minister smiled in bemusement as the machine's little computer-guided tubular arms twirled about and its two fingers picked up a drill and bored a hole in a store-window dummy's head.

After the robot put down the drill and simulated taking a biopsy of a brain tumor, Gandhi politely explained that it was all very wonderful but that there were some technologies in American society "that do not find a slot in our country."

The briefing, an unusual event in the itinerary of a visiting head of state, was arranged by George A. Keyworth, President Reagan's science adviser, and Frank Press, president of the academy.

Gandhi, trained as a mechanical engineer and a former airline pilot, has begun several programs to turn more of India's prowess in basic science—well known in the international scientific community—into practical improvements in people's lives.

Indian universities graduate more PhDs each year than do those of any other country, and India's

scientific establishment is the third-largest in the world, after the United States' and the Soviet Union's. However relatively few of these technically proficient people devote themselves to solving India's practical problems.

The robot, therefore, did not captivate Gandhi. He showed more interest in glowing accounts of how genetic engineering could provide Indian agriculture with drought-tolerant crops and Indian medicine with bioengineered artificial vaccines against leprosy, cholera, typhoid, malaria and other diseases.

"Are there any dangers?" Gandhi asked of Howard Schneiderman, an official of Monsanto Corp., which does research in this area.

Schneiderman, apparently not expecting skepticism, fumbled a bit and replied, "I find it hard to believe that I could design a millet plant that would devour India."

The prime minister was similarly skeptical about a presentation by Ian Ross, president of AT&T Bell Laboratories, on the marvels to come with advances in computer technology. Ross noted, however, that it could cost around \$100 million to develop a new kind of chip or related technology.

"Can we afford it?" Gandhi asked.

The most detailed conversation followed a presentation on biomass conversion, a technology India has been developing for many years as it seeks to recapture the energy content of vast quantities of cow dung, wheat stalks, rice hulls and

other common waste products of an agrarian society. In closed vats bacteria attack such materials, breaking them down and releasing methane, a flammable gas.

Donald Klass of the Institute of Gas Technology told Gandhi how many cattle India had and where the country got its energy. India's defense minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, asked whether the Americans had yet found a simple way to re-separate methane from carbon dioxide, which is also produced but is useless as fuel and costly to store. Klass said no.

At the briefing's start, Keyworth told Gandhi, "We are delighted to present to you four leaders of American science and technology and one robot."

All of the scientists were from private industry. The robot was too. According to Joseph Engelberger of Westinghouse Electric Corp., it has operated on a patient at Long Beach Memorial Hospital in California, a 52-year-old man. He said the device is guided by data from a CAT scan. The robot selects the best place to enter the skull, drills through the bone and removes a piece of tumor for biopsy.

Gandhi told the scientists that India was interested in developing its technology but the choices would have to be appropriate to India's needs. He cited India's gains under the so-called Green Revolution of high-yielding crop varieties specifically adapted to India's climates, soils and peoples.

Once a land of famine, India now produces agricultural surpluses and, Gandhi said, had even donated 100,000 tons of wheat to famine-stricken Africans.

"Our people now have an appetite and a need for newer technologies," Gandhi said. "We're looking to you to help us develop technologies suitable to our problems."

Political Settlement In Afghanistan Urged

Gandhi Supports 'Nonaligned Status'

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi called yesterday for an international political settlement that would result in a "nonaligned" Afghanistan, amid indications that he is considering a more active political role on the issue.

"We stand for a political settlement in Afghanistan that ensures sovereignty, integrity, independence and nonaligned status and enables the refugees to return to their homes in safety and honor," Gandhi told a joint session of Congress, where he received frequent and warm applause.

His remarks on Afghanistan were described as "encouraging" by Reagan administration officials, who have asked India since early this year to become more active in pursuing a political settlement.

The officials were anything but pleased, though, by Gandhi's critical remarks about President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), which the administration plans to discuss in detail today with the Indian leader.

Several hours after addressing Congress, Gandhi told reporters that "we're not ready yet" to decide whether or how to broaden India's efforts regarding Afghanistan. "We've had some talks with the Soviet Union," he said, referring to his

visit to Moscow last month, "and some talks with the United States, which we have really not evaluated."

Indian sources said hints from Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet officials during Gandhi's visit raised the question of whether Moscow is prepared to consider a new tack in Afghanistan. More than 100,000 Soviet troops have been fighting with limited success for more than five years to subdue Afghan guerrillas supported by the United States and several Islamic countries.

Gandhi, in his address to Congress, appeared to equate the Soviet troops with the Afghan rebels, saying, "We are opposed to both foreign presences and pressures. The one is advanced as a justification for the other."

The United States hopes to probe the Soviet position next week when State Department and Soviet Foreign Ministry officials are expected to discuss Afghanistan for the first time in nearly three years. Later next week, U.N.-sponsored "indirect" talks involving the Afghan and Pakistani governments are to resume in Geneva. Gandhi said yesterday that India "fully supports" the U.N. effort.

Gandhi has expressed skepticism for several months about Reagan's SDI, or "Star Wars," plan. In an ap-

See GANDHI, A5, Col. 3

'Nonaligned' Afghanistan Supported by Gandhi

GANDHI, From A1

parent reference to the U.S. effort, he told Congress, "We are concerned about any new dimensions to the arms race Hence our deep reservation about the militarization of outer space." This remark drew applause, especially from Democrats.

During a meeting several hours later with astronomer Carl Sagan, Gandhi said Reagan's space-based antimissile plan "doesn't really help" to move the world toward disarmament and "only brings things closer to the brink." Gandhi said he fears that "it's bound to become an offensive weapon" despite a billing as purely defensive.

In a White House meeting Wednesday, Reagan and other ranking U.S. officials sought to persuade Gandhi of the SDI's value and offered additional briefings. Lt. Gen. James A. Abrahamson, director of the SDI organization, and State Department arms adviser Paul H. Nitze are to brief Gandhi today, officials said.

Sagan and Gandhi discussed SDI when the Cornell astronomer presented a statement signed by 84 Nobel Prize winners and other scientists supporting a call by Gandhi and five other national leaders for a halt in testing, deployment and production of nuclear weapons.

The disarmament initiative was originally signed in May 1984 by Gandhi's late mother, Indira. Rajiv Gandhi brought it up with Gorbachev in the Kremlin last month and with Reagan at the White House Wednesday.

The Indian prime minister said

that Gorbachev had been "very positive" and that the Soviets "are willing to disarm." Reagan, he reported, agreed that "he is also for disarmament" but wants to achieve this "via SDI," of which Gandhi is highly skeptical.

Gandhi, 40, expressed caution about possible purchases of U.S. sophisticated military technology and weaponry, following reports that the Reagan administration is prepared to make such sales if strict guidelines are set on use and shipment.

Gandhi told reporters that India has had two problems with purchase of U.S. weapons: "The terms of supply can be altered retroactively by the United States, and we have doubts about the reliability of the United States as a supplier of spare parts and other equipment." He said it would "take time" to establish confidence in Washington as an arms supplier.

Reagan and Gandhi 'Really Hit It Off'

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 12 — President Reagan warmly welcomed Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India to the White House today, saying the United States sought to "broaden the understanding and deepen the cooperation" between the two nations.

At the same time, Mr. Reagan, standing beside Mr. Gandhi on the sun-dappled South Lawn of the White House, said that the United States "remains steadfastly dedicated to India's unity" in the face of a powerful Sikh separatist movement.

"We Americans place great value on India's friendship," Mr. Reagan added. "Our shared democratic ideas serve as a bridge between us."

Mr. Reagan told a smiling Mr. Gandhi, "Your leadership and your idealism are inspiring."

Security Is Heavy

In his remarks, Mr. Gandhi reiterated his Government's long-standing invitation for Mr. Reagan to visit India. Later in the day, White House officials denied a news agency report saying that Mr. Reagan was planning to visit India this year. White House officials said that the President had no plans for foreign travel for the rest of the year.

Mr. Gandhi's first full day in Washington was marked by unusually heavy security in the face of demonstrations by hundreds of Sikhs, in saffron-colored turbans, across from the White House in Lafayette Park as well as near the Ellipse. As Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gandhi spoke during the 20-minute ceremony, the chants and shouts of the demonstrators could be heard.

White House officials made it clear that despite differences between India and the United States on several issues, Mr. Gandhi's 30-minute private session with Mr. Reagan in the Oval Office, followed by a lengthier meeting between the two leaders and their key aides, was especially relaxed and friendly.

"They really hit it off," one White House official said. "It was a warm, cordial session."

Nuclear Concern Expressed

Mr. Gandhi said that he had expressed concern to President Reagan about the possibility that Pakistan was developing a nuclear weapon. "We did raise the point and the U.S. has assured us that they are doing everything they can to see they do not get such supplies," he said.

The Indian leader has been critical of the \$3.2 billion in military and economic aid that the Reagan Administration agreed in 1981 to provide Pakistan, India's traditional rival, over six years.

United States officials told Mr. Gandhi that the weaponry was, essentially, designed to strengthen Pakistan's western frontier, facing Afghanistan. Mr. Gandhi, after his luncheon at the State Department, was asked if he was convinced that the arms were defensive and for possible defensive use on the Afghanistan border.

"We are not fully convinced of that," he said. "We did point out to the President that we would find it difficult to believe that all the equipment that is being used on the Afghan border, especially as some of it is, well, naval sea-skimming missiles and other equipment which is not suitable for hill areas."

Two Disagreements Discussed

In Mr. Gandhi's visit today with Mr. Reagan as well as at a luncheon in his honor at the State Department given by Secretary of State George P. Shultz, two of the key points of disagreement between the two nations were discussed. United States officials have been especially unhappy over the refusal of India, a leader of the non-aligned movement, to criticize the Soviet Union's combat role in the Afghan insurgency.

Mr. Gandhi said later: "We have discussed Afghanistan and our position on

Afghanistan has been very clear that we are not for any country interfering in the internal affairs of any other country. And wherever it is happening, it should stop."

Tonight, at an elaborate White House banquet in his honor, Mr. Gandhi emphasized that the bonds between India and the United States were not only strengthened by India's increased need for United States high technology, but also by shared democratic values.

Sonia Gandhi, Assuredly

The Indian Prime Minister's Italian Wife Speaks Hindi & Loves Her Traditional Role

By Elisabeth Bumiller
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW DELHI—The Indians aren't even sure what to call her. They've come up with "first lady," although they aren't happy with that because it sounds so American. Their difficulty is understandable. For the first time in the Nehru dynasty that has dominated India since independence 38 years ago, the prime minister now has a spouse.

Jawaharlal Nehru was widowed, as was his daughter Indira Gandhi. But her son Rajiv has taken office not only married, but married to a 38-year-old Italian Catholic he met in a Greek restaurant while studying at Cambridge. Born Sonia Maino to solid middle-class parents in Turin, Sonia Gandhi is now most often simply referred to as Sonia—a very traditional wife who is also considered one of the most powerful people in India.

Today she arrives in Washington with her husband on an official state visit, an elegant and striking woman who carries her sari so well that she has impressed even the Indian women, normally tough critics of any westerner who tries to wear a garment that takes a special walk and a lot of practice.

Sonia Gandhi speaks fluent Hindi as well, and the talk in New Delhi is that she is even better at it than her husband. For years, since her marriage to Rajiv in 1968, she expertly ran her mother-in-law's house-

See FIRST LADY, C4, Col. 1

FIRST LADY, From C1

hold at 1 Safdarjung Rd., the supreme housekeeper who oversaw the kitchen, the large staff and her own son and daughter, Rahul and Priyanka.

Like any convert to a cause, she is in many ways a more devoted Indian wife than the real thing might be, the obedient, loving daughter-in-law who was intensely close and loyal to Indira Gandhi, "Mummy," in her words, and who isn't afraid to say, as she did recently in an interview with Dharma-yug, a Hindi-language weekly magazine, that "my upbringing is such that I feel my husband is superior to me and his mother even more superior."

It was Sonia Gandhi who rushed out on the lawn after Indira Gandhi had been shot on the morning of Oct. 31 last year, and who cradled her bleeding mother-in-law in her lap in the back seat of the car as it sped to the hospital. Rajiv Gandhi was in West

Bengal and heard of the assassination over the BBC. Sonia sobbed uncontrollably outside Indira Gandhi's operating room, then later kept an all-night vigil by the body as it lay in state. In contrast, Rajiv felt it was important to keep his emotions under control. He later said he was annoyed by a story going around that "When I heard the news I went into the loo and had a bawl, that's all rubbish."

Seven months later, for all her presumed new power, Sonia Gandhi has yet to make a significant impact. She is only seen in public for the occasional large dinner or political event she decides to attend with her husband. Her first and only interview as the prime minister's wife was with the Dharma-yug weekly, and she has turned down all other requests. Friends say she never wanted her husband to enter politics, and has not yet come to terms with her new life. Aides to the prime minister are quietly rolling their eyes, understanding her reticence but saying privately that at some point she has to learn how to be the first lady. For this article, she agreed to answer some written questions submitted through the prime minister's press adviser, H.Y. Sharada Prasad.

"I am not interested in a role as first lady," she said through Prasad. "I do not really have much time. The children are at home and are still young, but whenever I can be with my husband I am with him at many of the public functions and a good number of the dinners. My husband's duty is to the country, and mine is to the family."

Although there is some grumbling from those who see Sonia Gandhi's attitude toward her role as a lost opportunity to make a difference, Indians in general don't crave the kind of public performance and personal in-

formation about the prime minister's wife as Americans do of Nancy Reagan. People are curious, and fashionable women in New Delhi know that Sonia buys her saris at Sona, a private showroom, but how much they cost and what style they are is not a matter of consuming public interest. Some women in New Delhi social circles will say that she has not yet acquired a personal style like her mother-in-law had, but for the most part, Sonia Gandhi is admired for a remarkable ability to adjust to a country that often poses difficulties for westerners.

"I am a person who easily makes adjustments, and the Italian feeling for the family has helped me," she said through Prasad. "Both my mother-in-law and Rajiv made it easy for me. I feel very Indian and am not conscious



Sonia and Rajiv Gandhi.

of being an Italian in India. I do not recollect even a single incident when I had any difficulty in making an adjustment. I was never pushed into doing things I did not want to do."

But in her interview with the Hindi weekly, she talked of how often she thought of Italy during her early years in India. "In the beginning I used to feel it a lot," she said. "But then I took a decision. I cannot keep both. And until I establish a deep root and until I identify fully with my family here, I decided to keep myself cut off from my parental home."

Now there is talk in the Indian press about Sonia's "Italian connection," or her family's ties to Snampro-

getti, the Italian multinational firm that often wins Indian government contracts. Sonia has never commented.

Friends, none of whom want to be named, describe her as a serious, thoughtful and shy person who exerts a moral influence on a husband who pays close attention to her opinions. For this reason, Imprint, a respected Indian news and features magazine, named her the seventh most powerful person in India—ahead of the president, Zail Singh, as well as K.K. Birla and J.R.D. Tata, two highly influential industrialists.

Still, she says she has little influence over her husband on specific policy matters. "I am interested in what happens, but I am not the sort of person who politically interferes," she said through Prasad. "My husband spends the whole day in politics. I make it a point not to discuss politics with him when he comes home."

Friends also speculate that Sonia Gandhi can't be happy living under the intense security that has surrounded her family since her mother-in-law's assassination. She and Rajiv have moved from the old prime minister's residence on Safdarjung to a fortress-like home on nearby Racecourse Road that is protected by a concrete outer wall, barbed wire and security guards with carbines and sten guns. The children have been taken out of school to study with a tutor at home, and Rajiv Gandhi usually wears a bulletproof vest in public. The only written question that Sonia did not respond to was one asking how she had been able to retain a normal life under the new security restrictions.

One way to look at Sonia is to see her as a striking contrast to her politically ambitious sister-in-law, Maneka Gandhi, the widow of Rajiv's younger brother, Sanjay, who was Indira Gandhi's choice to become heir to the family dynasty. After Sanjay's death in a plane crash in 1980, Maneka tried to become a political force in her own right. Mrs. Gandhi threw her out of the house, but Maneka didn't give up. She formed her own political party and last year ran for parliament in Rajiv's own district, losing badly.

Sonia has never thrived on the tumult and passions of Indian politics. After Indira Gandhi lost the election of 1977, Sonia is said to have panicked, ready to fly back home to Italy

with her two children and her husband, at that time an apolitical airline pilot. Maneka was resentful that she and Sanjay were left alone to fight the Janata Party government. "When the rest of your family was packed and ready to go abroad," Maneka wrote in a letter to Indira Gandhi as reported by Asiaweek magazine in 1982, she and Sanjay "fought so bitterly for you in the Janata years."

Sonia met Rajiv while she was studying languages in Cambridge at a school that was separate from the university. "There was a Greek restaurant, the only place we could get Italian food," she said through Prasad. "All of us Italians and many others from other parts of Europe used to go there, and Rajiv and his friends also. Some of his group knew some of my group, and we met just like that."

She told the Hindi weekly that it was neither her husband's good looks nor name that attracted her. "I could find an inner beauty in him," she said. "He was somewhat different from others, deeper and wiser than his outward looks."

These days she busies herself with her children and her work in art restoration. In addition to English, Hindi and Italian, she speaks French and Spanish, as well as a bit of Russian. Before the new security restrictions, she used to go to Amethi, the district in Uttar Pradesh that Rajiv Gandhi still represents as a member of parliament, distributing medicine, blankets and food to the villagers. Asked what struck her most about India when she first arrived, she said through Prasad that it was the "cheerful people—in spite of their circumstances."

She has recently read Nehru's autobiography and last year watched "The Jewel in the Crown," the highly popular public television series based on Paul Scott's novels about the British in India.

"I saw 'The Jewel in the Crown' on cassette along with Mummy," Sonia said through Prasad. "I thought it was a little long and drawn out, but what struck me was the negative attitude of the British toward Indians and how they moved in a world of their own."

Sonia also said through Prasad that "Mrs. Gandhi, in spite of being prime minister, was not at all formidable. She was normal as any other mother would have been—and very understanding."

She first met Indira Gandhi while studying in Cambridge. She told the Hindi weekly that her future mother-in-law was sympathetic, recalling her own controversial marriage to Rajiv's father, Feroze Gandhi, a Parsi from a middle-class family. The Nehrus were Kashmiri Brahmins.

"Sonia, I am a mother," she recalled that Mrs. Gandhi told her. "You need not be afraid of me. I was also a girl like you in love with a boy from a different community and religion. I can understand your love. Have no worries."

(Religion doesn't appear to be a problem in the marriage. Rajiv Gandhi said in an interview with the weekly magazine Sunday that "I am not religious at all . . . [but] I do believe in truth and what I feel is right, and I put my trust in somebody, you can call him God, and it works." His wife, he said, "isn't a practicing Christian in the sense of someone who goes to church every Sunday. She didn't do that in Italy, she didn't do that in England.")

When Sonia was preparing to leave her first meeting with her future mother-in-law, Indira Gandhi beckoned to her, took out a needle and thread, asked her to turn around, then mended a loose hem on her dress.

"I was really touched," Sonia told the Hindi weekly. "Indeed, this was the first gift I received from Mummy."

Gandhi Emerges From Shadow of His Ancestors

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 14 — In his first visit to Washington as the leader of India, Rajiv Gandhi has in the eyes of American officials quietly and firmly removed the shadow they felt had been cast over the relationship with the United States by his mother, Indira.

News Surprisingly informal
Analysis and confident, a faint smile flickering across his face in every public appearance, the 40-year-old Indian Prime Minister has given the impression to Administration officials that, although heir to the Nehru dynasty that shaped post-independence India, his style, personality and politics seem quite different from the family that shaped him.

As Mr. Gandhi prepared to leave the United States Saturday after a daylong trip to Houston, United States officials were expressing delight at the visit so far, which began Tuesday night. "It's exceeded everything expected," Secretary of State George P. Shultz said Thursday night.

Disagreements Were Expected

"There's a night and day contrast between Rajiv and his mother," another Administration official said today. "It's a whole new generation. This fellow has an open mind. Reagan and Mrs. Gandhi were roughly the same generation and the irony is that Reagan has far more rapport with Rajiv than he had with Mrs. Gandhi."

Mr. Gandhi's stated disagreements with the Administration on such issues as United States military aid to Pakistan were expected. But, according to United States officials, the differences were voiced without the prickliness that they contended often marked the comments of Mrs. Gandhi.

Mr. Gandhi, a self-described member of the Beatles generation, is a former Indian Airline pilot who enjoys wearing designer jeans and listening to Mozart. He came to the United States apparently without the ideological and personal resentments that shaded the feelings of his mother and even his grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru, who led India as Prime Minister in the first 17 years of independence from Britain.

'Nehru Saw Us as Vulgar'

"Nehru and Indira looked at us through British eyes, aristocratic British eyes," said one veteran American diplomat. "Nehru saw us as vulgar."

"Indira tried, but her experiences with American Presidents, with Johnson and Nixon, was not conducive to good relationships," said the diplomat.

"I don't think Rajiv Gandhi has an ideological perspective," said the diplomat. "He relates to modern America. Whatever India's policy may be, I think it'll be easier, more direct."

Mr. Reagan and his wife, Nancy, seem to have especially enjoyed the company of Mr. Gandhi and his Italian-born wife, Sonia, whose visit was marked by the opening of an 18-month-

festival of the Indian arts.

"Although a few years separate us — just a few," said the 74-year-old Mr. Reagan, smiling, during a toast at the White House state dinner on Wednesday night, "we hit it off."

"I think we did," said Mr. Gandhi later. Mr. Gandhi also said that he found Mr. Reagan, "very straightforward, outspoken, humorous."

One Administration official said that despite the warm series of meetings held by Mr. Gandhi, questions remained about the path that he will follow.

2 Groups of Advisers

"We don't think he's made up his mind yet on fundamental strategic decisions," said the official. "We sense he has a set of conflicting advisers. One of them is a group, almost identical to him, in their 40's, they all went to the same prep school, they're Western-oriented and want Western technology infusions to promote an economic takeoff for India. They are inexperienced in security matters."

"The other group are men in their 60's and 70's, who worked for Mrs. Gandhi, the architects of the Soviet connection, with which they are quite pleased. This group is worried that too close a relationship with the United States will result in punitive measures by the Soviets. We don't think Rajiv has chosen between these two groups."

Several Americans as well as Indians pointed out that the contrasting styles of Mr. Gandhi and his mother,

who was assassinated Oct. 31, reflected totally different backgrounds. Mrs. Gandhi, an only child, grew up in the shadow of her father, served as his trusted companion and, though self-effacing and inexperienced, was chosen Prime Minister in 1966 after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Numerous Indians and foreigners found Mrs. Gandhi a moody, unpredictable and, according to those who knew her, essentially lonely figure.

"Rajiv had a more or less normal life," said an American diplomat. "And the fact that he's married to an Italian, a Western-oriented woman, who comes from a middle-class and not aristocratic family, is relevant here. He relates to ordinary people. He's able to communicate and have relationships. His mother had difficulties."

What seems most striking to the American officials who have met Mr. Gandhi in recent days, though, is the fact that for most of his adult life he displayed no political interests or ambitions. It was only when his younger brother, Sanjay, died in a stunt plane crash in 1980, that Rajiv Gandhi was propelled into public life.

"There's a kind of serenity about him that's attractive and curious," said an Indian scholar who dined with Mr. Gandhi the other night. "He is very secure. Sonia and he are under enormous pressure, the security is suffocating. Their life has been transformed. And yet he really seems to be enjoying himself."

(Headline) PRIME MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON NBC'S MEET THE PRESS: 14 JUNE 1985

MR. KALB: Good day. We are in the home here of the Indian Ambassador to the United States because this past week it has also been the home of the visiting Prime Minister of India Rajiv Gandhi, who is our guest on MEET THE PRESS.

This conversation is taking place late Friday, just as the Indian Prime Minister is completing his official visit to Washington. Joining me for this program is my colleague Garri-ck Utley, NBC's Chief Foreign Correspondent.

If he had planned it, which he clearly did not, the Indian Prime Minister could not have come up with a more original set of advance men. Americans have, in a sense, been softened up for this visit by two extraordinary movies, "Gandhi" and a "Passage to India," and by that Sunday night obsession called "The Jewel in the Crown." Americans have been both fascinated and frustrated by India. They are now clearly in a period of fascination with Indian culture and with our guest, the Indian Prime Minister.

Airline Pilot

Rajiv Gandhi became Prime Minister on October 31st last year when his mother, Indira Gandhi, was assassinated by Sikh extremists. Forty years of age, by profession an engineer and an airline pilot, Rajiv Gandhi entered politics only four years ago after his brother Sanjay was killed in an airplane crash and, as Rajiv then put it, "Mummy has to be helped somehow."

Blessed with the name Gandhi, son of one prime minister and grandson of another, Rajiv won an overwhelming mandate for sweeping change in a country of 750 million people, the most populous democracy on earth. India is poor and over-populated, given to tragedies such as the Bhopal poison gas leaks that killed more than 2000 people last December and to sectarian violence, which sometimes threatens the very fabric of India's complex society.

Energize Economy

Rajiv in office has tried to root out corruption and energize the economy while pursu-

ing an unaligned foreign policy, meaning in his case, traveling first to the Soviet Union for talks there with Mikhail Gorbachev, and then to the United States where he was warmly received by President Reagan, even though there are still sharp differences between the two democracies.

For example, when Prime Minister Gandhi appeared before a joint meeting of the Congress, he criticized the President's space-based defense plan, though indirectly.

Prime Minister Gandhi (On tape): "We are concerned about new dimensions of the arms race. This only makes the ultimate objective more difficult to achieve. Hence, our deep reservations about the militarization of outer space."

Brutal War

MR. KALB: As for another major point of difference, the brutal war in Afghanistan, Gandhi retreated to diplomatic ambiguity.

Prime Minister Gandhi (On tape): "Our position is very clear. That we are not for any country interfering in the internal affairs of any other country."

Troop Withdrawal

MR. KALB: So, that being the case, Mr. Prime Minister, why have you not up to this point anyway—and you're more than welcome to do it on this program—called for the Soviet troops' withdrawal from Afghanistan?

P.M. GANDHI: We have—like you've just mentioned, we have made our position clear. We are not for any country either interfering or intervening in the internal affairs of other countries.

MR. KALB: But have you—

PRIME MINISTER GANDHI: And that—

MR. KALB: Have you ever, sir, specifically called for a withdrawal of Soviet forces?

PRIME MINISTER GANDHI: Well, we've called for a stoppage of intervention and interference.

MR. KALB: But those are those broad diplomatic generalizations. Have you ever actually done so?

PRIME MINISTER GANDHI: I think

now—Of course.

MR. KALB: You have.

PRIME MINISTER GANDHI: What does non-intervention mean?

MR. KALB: It could mean—

PRIME MINISTER GANDHI: It means you stop intervening.

Difficult Parts

MR. UTLEY: To pursue this point, because Afghanistan is a point which has dominated some of the more difficult parts of the relationship between the two countries, do you think the United States is being unfair in dwelling on this point, on the way this question is being phrased?

PRIME MINISTER GANDHI: The question that you have phrased just now or—

MR. UTLEY: The question of why don't you, India, insist—call on the Kremlin to withdraw its troops. Why don't you say it plain and clear?

P.M. GANDHI: Because—Because that can only be linked with a stoppage of interference from across the Pakistan border. We can't expect one to happen without the other.

Political System

MR. KALB: Isn't it true though what is coming from across the border after all are Afghanis fighting for what they take to be their own country, their own political system? The Soviets are clearly not Afghanis, they are the foreign forces in the country. Shouldn't the call be made—

P.M. GANDHI: Yes—Well—Factually, yes. And to that you must add that they're there with the consent of the government of Afghanistan.

MR. UTLEY: But with the respect, the government wouldn't be there were it not for the presence of the Soviet soldiers.

P.M. GANDHI: Well, you know, this is just a chasing the tail one after the other. The fact is somehow we have to resolve this problem in Afghanistan.

MR. UTLEY: Is it possible?

P.M. GANDHI: I think it may be possible, yes.

MR. UTLEY: A short while ago you were meeting with the Soviet leaders in Moscow. Do you think they are interested in a settlement that will be acceptable to you and to the United States?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, we're hardly in it to—you know, for it to be acceptable or not acceptable to us. It is really a problem between the U.S., Soviet Union, Afghanistan and Pakistan, who are the four countries that are involved in the particular dispute. And I think a solution acceptable to all four should be possible.

Significant Role

MR. UTLEY: Do you think India could play a significant role in this and are you prepared to do that?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, we've been talking to various people trying to collect ideas. May be after we go back we'll try and evaluate what we have talked about and if we think that we could contribute, we will certainly try.

Arms Sales

MR. KALB: Mr. Prime Minister, it seems as if the United States would like to sell arms to India once again. It seems as if India would like to have arms, but there are conditions and you question the reliability of the United States as a supplier of spare parts. Do you see this happening, the resumption of American arms sales to India, within what?—six months, a year?

P.M. GANDHI: No, I think that would be

difficult. Like you say, we have two problems with the U.S. One is your law, which requires that part of the agreement is such that Congress, if it wants to, can make any modifications on the agreement with retrospective effect. Now we're opposed to the retrospective effect. We accept that Congress can make changes; that is their right. Well, the law is yours. It's your right to have it. But that is not acceptable to us as part of a contract that we are signing.

MR. KALB: And the other?

P.M. GANDHI: The other is the fact of reliability. We have found in '65 that at a time when we needed certain things, they were cut off. But this is not something that can be settled immediately. It is something that can only happen over a period of time, a period of building up confidence between the two countries.

MR. KALB: Do you think the Russians to be reliable?

P.M. GANDHI: They have been.

MR. KALB: They have been.

Nuclear-free Zones

MR. KALB: Mr. Prime Minister, you have said—your mother said when she was prime minister that India favors nuclear-free zones in many parts of the world and you have talked specifically I believe about the Middle East, certainly about the Indian Ocean. That being the case, since you've established it as a principle, why not accept the idea of a nuclear-free zone in South Asia embracing both India and Pakistan?

P.M. GANDHI: We want something much more than that. We want the whole area as a zone of peace and it is part of the similar agreement that we signed with Pakistan. We would like to pursue it on those lines.

MR. KALB: And—And when you say that, do you mean that as a general concept, would you accept as a starting point an agreement with Pakistan on a nuclear-free zone for South Asia or is that unacceptable?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, it—No, it must be a full package and we are willing to work on a full package.

Problems

MR. UTLEY: Pakistan is really at the heart of many of the problems facing your country and the relationship with the United States. We are selling a lot of military equipment to Pakistan, none to you. Do you think it is possible to come to a far-reaching agreement with Pakistan in the coming years? Any kind of understanding with Zia-ul-Haq on the nuclear questions, on improving relations? I know you've had conversations with him, you intend to have more conversations.

P.M. GANDHI: We've had talks. We'll certainly meet in December in Dacca in a Southeast Regional—South Asian Regional Corporate meeting. And —

MR. UTLEY: Well, what do you see happening?

Friends

P.M. GANDHI: Well, we must be friends and work together. This tension, this arms race between our countries is bad for both of us. We can't afford it; they can't afford it. And our main objection to your supply of arms is not to the fact of arms, but to the fact that we have to divert scarce resources from development to weapons.

MR. UTLEY: I'm not quite clear on this point, Prime Minister. Are you saying that Pakistan is not a military threat to India?

P.M. GANDHI: Pakistan can't be a military threat to India.

MR. UTLEY: Even with a nuclear bomb?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, nuclear bomb is a

separate question and I thought you would come to that.

MR. UTLEY: We are coming to it.

P.M. GANDHI: But we won't—we won't link that with conventional weapons sale, except that the F-16s are carrying it. So you have, maybe without realizing it, a platform.

MR. UTLEY: If Pakistan does develop the bomb, and you have said in the past you are concerned that they could do so soon, what would be your response?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, it's difficult to say at the moment since we haven't had deep discussions about it. But I'll be difficult for us not to come out with some sort of counter to that. Now counter need not be nuclear. We don't want to go nuclear. It may be the last—it will be the last choice really.

MR. KALB: Mr. Prime Minister, did India in 1974 actually have a nuclear bomb when it—

P.M. GANDHI: We had a nuclear device.

MR. KALB: You had a nuclear device. Would it be used to—kill people? It's an explosive device?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, any explosive device can kill people. We've seen our radios in Delhi last month. Be we have not developed a second device. We have not continued that program since '74.

Various Aspects

MR. KALB: The point that I'd like to get clear, however, is in the last six months or so, in the course of many press conferences you have been asked this question, and I detect, though I could be quite wrong, that over the last six months you have edged closer towards saying that India may shortly be faced with the need to come to some kind of a decision. I quote you, "We may be forced to look into various aspects of this question," the Pakistan bomb, "and to see what action we should take." What action might you take?

P.M. GANDHI: That's what we've got to figure out.

MR. KALB: Well, what do you think it could be, if not build the bomb?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, we—That's what I said. That's the last—That will be the last option that we would like and we don't want to build a bomb. We don't want to waste money on building a bomb with all the other things that are involved. It's not just the bomb. You need a platform to carry it. You need all sorts of things with it. It's a much bigger program than we would like to do.

Nuclear Bomb

MR. UTLEY: Pakistan isn't the only problem in the area for you. Although it's not talked about very much, there is China, the other great population power, if we want to

call it that, and a nuclear power. What does China pose to you as a rival and perhaps one day a threat?

Problem

P.M. GANDHI: Well, we don't really see them as rivals or threats. We have a border problem with them. We've been talking about it and we hope that they will be more positive about it in the future. We have—we have a meeting due, maybe later this year sometime.

Close Relationship

MR. UTLEY: From your perspective, how do you view the improving and close relationship between the United States and China?

P.M. GANDHI: We welcome friendship everywhere and we don't feel that one friendship can counter another friendship.

MR. KALB: Mr. Prime Minister, on the issue of the non-proliferation treaty, India has refused to sign it. Raises questions in many minds as to whether you don't sign it because deep down you harbor the intention to build the bomb. Why don't you sign it?

P.M. GANDHI: We think it's unfair.

MR. KALB: Why?

P.M. GANDHI: Because it gives one set of conditions to nuclear weapon countries and another set to non-weapon countries.

MR. KALB: But, sir, that—With no disrespect, that is the whole point of the non-proliferation treaty, that those who have it are obviously going to keep it, but those that—

P.M. GANDHI: They're all right, yes.

MR. KALB: But those that don't, shouldn't.

P.M. GANDHI: Have got to be fixed.

MR. KALB: Well, shouldn't. Don't you feel—

P.M. GANDHI: We don't think that's fair at all. We feel that those that have it should not be having it; should be disarming.

MR. UTLEY: Are you saying—

P.M. GANDHI: I'm sorry.

Full Recognition

MR. UTLEY: Are you saying, in effect, that India feels that it is not being given full recognition by the great powers, quote—unquote, that is itself is a great major power?

P.M. GANDHI: No, we don't profess to be a major power. We really want to be left alone to develop and see what we can do for our people. We—

MR. KALB: Mr. Prime Minister—I'm sorry. Please, continue.

P.M. GANDHI: We have demonstrated that we are not making a nuclear weapon. I think almost everyone in the world is convinced that we have the capability, we have had the capability for eleven years, but we have not progressed along a plan to produce nuclear weapons. And so, in a way, we have

demonstrated that it is not relevant whether you sign the NPT or not—or don't sign it. It is more relevant that you do not make weapons.

MR. KALB: Well, that's probably a controversial point, sir, but there are many questions. Mr. Prime Minister, your grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru ran India as prime minister for 17 years. You mother, if my arithmetic is right, for 16 years in the two times. Do you have similar long term ambitions or are there limits to what you feel you would like to have as prime minister?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, there is so much work to be done and, of course, when you set out with a challenge like this in front of you, you want to do as much as you can.

Context of Society

MR. UTLEY: What is it that is important to India, in the context of society, as well as the politics, of having this continuity? Some people would call it a dynasty. It is a democracy, obviously, but there's a special angle to it, this personal touch of your family's history. Why?

P.M. GANDHI: That's very difficult for me to say. The people, well, they elect us and obviously they think that we do everything right.

MR. KALB: But is it healthy sir? Seriously, is it healthy for a democracy to lean so exclusively upon one family?

P.M. GANDHI: I don't think the family is relevant because the democracy is learning on individuals. And if they did not like a particular individual, they would not vote for him. I have seen other people going out. They voted my mother out of office. They voted the Congress out. So, it's not as if it is a party they're voting for. They see that you work, that you can deliver and they vote for you. The minute they feel that there is something wrong, it's not the way they want it to go, they reject you.

MR. KALB: Garrick, the thing that strikes me listening to the Prime Minister here and observing him over the past week, I think this has been a very successful visit, very successful visit for both the United States and for India. There have been periods of frustration, deep frustration, and fascination, as I said before. We're in the fascination time and I suspect we'll have frustration as well. But they probably accomplished as much I think as you could in four days.

Difficulties

MR. UTLEY: One of the reasons for some of the difficulties and tensions between the United States and India over the years has been the fact that we are two different cultures and there is the challenge of understanding each other. And the last year or so, Americans have been seeing movies—"Passage to India," "Gandhi," "Jewel in the Crown." You have the Festival of India for the year or year-and-a-half here. We'll be learning more about your country. But do you think Americans are getting the right image of India. Do you think we really—Oh, not just the country, but more importantly, the mind, the temperament?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, that you will really know much better as there are more exchanges, more people coming across. But I think on the whole, Americans are getting to know India much better, compared to ten years ago, fifteen years ago when there was a complete misconception of when—of what India was.

Acquire Technology

MR. UTLEY: One of the images you are bringing in this trip is the desire to acquire more technology from the West, to modernize the Indian economy. Do you think that this is something which can really solve India's problems, because it is a nation which is a poor, very poor nation on the scale of things?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, I'd—I'd like to put it the other way around. I mean is there any other way of solving our problems? Our biggest problem was agriculture, feeding ourselves. And with the best technology, which means the best seeds, the best fertilizers, the best implements we were able to overcome that and today we are more than self-sufficient. In fact, we are surplus in food.

A matter of 15 years or 16 years. So, it is—it is only with technology that we can do it.

MR. KALB: Sir, on—Something that has been a matter of some curiosity to me, when your mother ordered the Indian Army to attack the Golden Temple of the Sikhs in Amritsar, were you part of that decision? Did you favor that decision?

P.M. GANDHI: I was not part of the decision.

MR. KALB: You were not.

P.M. GANDHI: No.

MR. KALB: Did you—Did you favor it? Did you play any part in it at all?

P.M. GANDHI: No, it was a government action. I was not involved in it.

MR. KALB: You were not.

P.M. GANDHI: No.

MR. KALB: Do you feel that the Sikhs right now can be dealt with in such a way as to dampen down their desire for separation, for independence?

P.M. GANDHI: I don't think there is a desire for separation amongst the Sikhs, amongst certain Sikhs—amongst the Sikhs in India. Amongst the groups in the U.S., yes, there is some such thought. Amongst a very small group in India, there is. The majority Sikhs are not for it. The Akali Dal leadership—The Akali Dal is one of the biggest Sikh parties. They're not the only party.

Future

MR. UTLEY: Do you think this problem can be resolved in India, because it hangs over the future of your government?

P.M. GANDHI: Yes, it—it certainly will be resolved. And like I was saying, the Akali Dal leadership has come out very categorically and said that they are for a solution to the problem within India's constitution, within a united India.

Pragmatic

MR. UTLEY: You could I think because of the fact that both sides approached it from a very pragmatic point of view, accentuate the positive, if you will. And this is particularly important from the American side. We know that emotionally Ronald Reagan very often sees the world in a bipolar way, the geopolitical between Moscow and Washington. And here we have India, the leader of the nonaligned world, because the Prime Minister is currently the head of that association, and able to accept that and work with it. And the question is where do we go from here.

MR. KALB: Well, Mr. Prime Minister, you are the—the one major world figure I believe who in the past month has had an occasion to talk to Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. Do you feel, sir, that these two men are capable of leading us out of the wilderness of the nuclear mess that we're in?

P.M. GANDHI: I think they both want to. There is a difference in views on the route to that end.

MR. UTLEY: They want to. Can they, given their own societies, their political problems?

P.M. GANDHI: I think they could, yes.

Trust

MR. KALB: What would have to be the steps they would take, sir?

P.M. GANDHI: They'd have to trust each other more.

MR. KALB: That's an awfully large thing to ask. Do you think they really will? Do you see that as possible?

P.M. GANDHI: I think it's too soon to say. We'll have to watch for awhile.

MR. KALB: And you think it is possible then that—

P.M. GANDHI: We have to watch also, you know, how they move to build that.

Summit Meeting

MR. UTLEY: What would be the first step in your mind? A summit meeting? Everybody says that.

P.M. GANDHI: I don't know if they're ready for it. Maybe solving some of the problems where they could get together.

MR. KALB: Prime Minister, I want to thank you very much for being our guest on MEET THE PRESS. And Garrick, thank you very much for joining us. And thank you all for joining us.

The above program was telecast on 16 June, 1985.

Prime Minister Interviewed on MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour of PBS, June 14

MS. WOODRUFF: Our "Final Focus" section tonight is a newsmaker interview with India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. The 40-year-old leader has been in Washington this week meeting with officials of the Reagan administration. I sat down with him earlier this afternoon at the residence of India's Ambassador to the United States.

MS. WOODRUFF: I think the statement that you've made that is getting the most attention here is one in your speech to the Joint Session of the Congress in which you called for an international political settlement leading to a nonaligned Afghanistan. Now, some American officials are saying that this is a shift in India's position. Is it a shift?

P.M. GANDHI: No. It's almost exactly—in fact it is exactly—what was in the Nonaligned (Movement) statement of '81. It was what was in the Nonaligned (Movement) statement of '83. And there is no shift in our position.

MS. WOODRUFF: How do you explain what American officials are saying?

P.M. GANDHI: We've been saying this right through. There was some problem with communications on what we were saying and what was being interpreted.

Afghanistan

MS. WOODRUFF: What role would you finally like to see the Soviet Union play in Afghanistan? The same role that they are playing now?

P.M. GANDHI: No. Like we said in our statement, we want a nonaligned Afghanistan, and we want it to remain as such. We don't like any countries interfering or intervening in the internal affairs of other countries, and we'd like that to stop.

MS. WOODRUFF: In other words, you want the Soviets out of Afghanistan?

P.M. GANDHI: Yes.

MS. WOODRUFF: Have you told the Soviet leaders that? You met with Mr. Gorbachev last month. Did you tell him this?

P.M. GANDHI: We have discussed it, yes.

MS. WOODRUFF: And what was his response, without betraying any confidences?

P.M. GANDHI: You have to see both together, the Mujahedin's pressurizing Afghanistan—

MS. WOODRUFF: The rebels.

P.M. GANDHI: The rebels, yes, the Mujahedin as they're called. And we've got to put an end to both. There is no way it can, you know—otherwise one is used as an excuse for the other.

MS. WOODRUFF: How do you follow up on the statement that you made? I mean, what can you do as the leader of India, to bring about a settlement in Afghanistan?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, we may be able to help because we have some contacts with the Soviets, and we've had fairly good talks with the American government.

MS. WOODRUFF: How much influence do you think you have with the Soviets, on this?

P.M. GANDHI: That's very difficult to say, but we could try and talk to them, depending on how our talks finish here.

MS. WOODRUFF: Do you think their position has changed? Do you think they want to—the situation in Afghanistan to remain what it is now?

P.M. GANDHI: I think they would accept a neutral, nonaligned, Afghanistan.

MS. WOODRUFF: What makes you believe that?

P.M. GANDHI: We believe it, yes.

MS. WOODRUFF: Have they said so?

P.M. GANDHI: They have given us indications, yes.

MS. WOODRUFF: The role of the United States in aiding the Mujahedin, the rebels, from Pakistan and Afghanistan, is that an improper role for the United States to play, in your view?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, we feel any interference in internal affairs of other countries is an improper role and should be stopped.

MS. WOODRUFF: Did you tell President Reagan this?

P.M. GANDHI: Yes.

MS. WOODRUFF: And his response?

P.M. GANDHI: We made our position very clear on this, that especially in our area we feel that it is a destabilizing factor.

MS. WOODRUFF: Your relations, India's relations, with the Soviet Union, how close are your two countries to each other?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, we're good friends. The Soviet Union has been reliable when we've needed help. They've helped us. But—I mean, there are no bases or other Soviet outposts in India. India is very much independent, nonaligned, and will remain so.

MS. WOODRUFF: Would you say you are close to the Soviet Union that you are to the United States?

P.M. GANDHI: I think at the moment, yes.

MS. WOODRUFF: Why is that?

P.M. GANDHI: We've had problems with various dealings with the US. We felt that you tilted against India on some occasions. We felt that you had stopped aid to us on certain occasions when we thought it was unjustified. And there is a history. We have differing views on various world incidents.

MS. WOODRUFF: Would you like for the situation to stay with that, as you've described, where you are closer to the Soviet Union than you are to the United States? Is that a situation you prefer?

P.M. GANDHI: No. There are two things. One is the stand we take on international issues, where, irrespective of being closer or further or getting along with or not getting along with a country, we take a stand which we think is right. It doesn't matter that it will hurt the Soviet Union or it will hurt the US. If we think it's right, we take that position. If we think something is right for India, we do that.

The friendship—we have friendship with the Soviet Union, we want to build more friendship with the US. But it will not compromise our friendship with the Soviet Union or with any other country. It's not one against the other. They're complementary.

MS. WOODRUFF: But how can it not be, when in so many respects the systems, the goals, of these two nations, the United States and the Soviet Union, are so different? How can you be, at the same time, close to one?

P.M. GANDHI: We're not in your race. We are not competing with you. We are not a world power and we are not playing the same game. We are a developing country; we have our own priorities. All the developing countries have and ours are very similar to theirs. And we feel that the rights of the developing countries are equal to the rights of any other countries, and we make our voices heard.

Closer

MS. WOODRUFF: How much closer are you, if at all, to the United States, after this visit, this week?

P.M. GANDHI: I think many misunderstandings have been cleared up, and

it's really . . . this visit has extended the friendship that started off during my mother's visit, in 1982. We are going to build more from here. We got on well, President Reagan and I, and we hope to see President Reagan in India.

MS. WOODRUFF: How much difference does the United States' decision to provide advanced military technology to India make? Does it make any difference at all?

P.M. GANDHI: A little bit. Not very much. Because there are still certain clauses in your contract which Congress requires, which we feel hesitant to sign. So that is a problem. But we were told that there have been some changes in those clauses recently, so we'll re-evaluate it and see what the new clauses are like.

MS. WOODRUFF: Is this something you discussed?

P.M. GANDHI: We have discussed this, yes.

MS. WOODRUFF: Are there things that India wants, as a result of this new understanding between you?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, there are things we could buy from you, yes. But they're also available elsewhere.

MS. WOODRUFF: As you know, there are some American officials who are said to be concerned that providing military secrets to India may somehow lead to this information falling into the hands of the Soviets.

P.M. GANDHI: Why should they take it from India? I believe, reading your papers the past few days, the past few weeks, they seem to get enough of it directly.

MS. WOODRUFF: If the United States provides those sorts of things that you are thinking of, to India, what does India do in return for the United States? Is that an appropriate question to ask?

much harder to achieve disarmament. It adds one more dimension to it. And you know we are not the only ones, there are very many people in the world who are skeptical about it.

MS. WOODRUFF: Did you explain your view to President Reagan?

P.M. GANDHI: We did and he explained his.

MS. WOODRUFF: Did you come any closer together at all?

P.M. GANDHI: On this I don't think we did.

MS. WOODRUFF: Do you have any better understanding thought of why he feels

P.M. GANDHI: Yes certainly, certainly. I do understand his point of view, I understand what he feels about it and why he feels like that about it.

MS. WOODRUFF: But . . .

P.M. GANDHI: But we feel differently.

MS. WOODRUFF: What about India's nuclear capability? You said in an interview recently, maybe perhaps last week, that although you have no nuclear weapons now, that you could have one or some in a matter of a few months or even in a matter of a few weeks. How soon could India have a nuclear weapon?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, that depends, if we decide to have one. We have no intention to have one. We don't want to make a nuclear weapon. We don't want to be a nuclear power. We think it's wrong, it's bad and it would not really help the total world system.

MS. WOODRUFF: But as you said it depends on the necessity, but what if it were a necessity—how quickly could one be put together?

P.M. GANDHI: We have to look into that. We are not planning to put one together, so we haven't evaluated that on a time schedule.

MS. WOODRUFF: But you are close enough as you said?

P.M. GANDHI: Well we have the technology, we made one in 1974. So you know, we have the knowhow, we have got the experience but we are not going to do it.

Sikh Situation

MS. WOODRUFF: The Sikh situation, how serious a threat to Indian unity is this?

P.M. GANDHI: It's not. It's not at all. The Sikh leaders in India are talking of solutions

P.M. GANDHI: We are not bargaining for anything. I didn't come here on a sort of purchasing or bargaining trip. I really came to meet President Reagan, to meet your other leaders, and to sort of establish a rapport which we could build on. And I think we have established a rapport and it will go well for both our countries.

MS. WOODRUFF: Why are you so skeptical of the President's proposal when he has said he believes that this is the one way we achieve nuclear disarmament, the elimination of nuclear weapons?

P.M. GANDHI: We feel that any escalation in the weapons system will only make it

within the Constitutional provisions of India, within a united India. It is not a threat to the unity of India.

MS. WOODRUFF: And yet over the last year or so the violence, the terrorism, has increased rather than decreased. What can you do specifically?

P.M. GANDHI: Well, sporadically it has increased. It goes to higher levels on certain incidents, but if you look at the long term picture it is improving and the Sikh leadership is coming out positively to work within the Constitution. This is a positive development.

MS. WOODRUFF: But you still have elements within not just the Sikhs but other groups who are not willing to be accommodating. How....

P.M. GANDHI: Yes there are some groups of Sikhs but they are very small in number.

MS. WOODRUFF: How will you deal with this. What....

P.M. GANDHI: Well the terrorists will be dealt with like terrorists anywhere in the world. And the other groups we are willing to talk to about their problems and try to solve their problems.

MS. WOODRUFF: Even if the terrorists hole up again in a religious building?

P.M. GANDHI: We won't allow them to

hole up anywhere.

MS. WOODRUFF: Even if it leads to another situation as you had it in Amritsar?

P.M. GANDHI: Yes we will not allow them to hole up in any place religious or otherwise.

MS. WOODRUFF: A question about your vision for India, compared to your mother's vision, you are clearly the younger generation. Is there a difference in what you want for your country from what your mother wanted?

P.M. GANDHI: No I don't think so.

MS. WOODRUFF: What do you want?

P.M. GANDHI: Well we want an India free from strife, an India where there is no communal or religious ferment, an India which is prosperous, an India which is really with the advanced nations of the world in technology and prosperity.

MS. WOODRUFF: Does the fact that you are the younger generation represent any change at all in the way you govern India?

P.M. GANDHI: That's very difficult for me to say. Being younger I think, we are more impatient, want things done faster, but I don't think there is any change in the system. Things I think move a little faster, we push a little harder and step on more toes maybe.

TRADE AND TECHNOLOGY

Indo-U.S. technology talks from Monday

From WARREN UNNA

WASHINGTON, April 6.—A 33-member U.S. inter-governmental delegation, headed by William Schneider, the Under Secretary of State for Technology, and representing the U.S. side of the Indo-American Sub-commission on Science and Technology, is to begin four days of discussion in Delhi on Monday.

In the middle of this month, Michael Pillsbury, a key aide to the U.S. Under Secretary of Defence, Fred Ikle, is scheduled to arrive in India to prepare for Ikle's own visit there the end of this month. Ikle is said to hope to inform India that Pentagon suspicions about its trustworthiness, finally are about to be turned around in a meaningful way.

And last October, before Mrs Gandhi's assassination and before Mr Rajiv Gandhi's becoming Prime Minister, President Ronald Reagan's White House initiated a decision to broaden an American military supply relationship with India.

This March, after many months of delay, the U.S. and India finally initiated an agreement opening the way for the transfer of advanced U.S. technology to India.

Put together, all these steps would appear to indicate that President Reagan's Administration is determined to have a new go at improving U.S. relations with India under its new technology-minded Prime Minister. Several years ago, just before Mrs Gandhi was to arrive, her welcome was signalled by the Reagan Ad-

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Administration resolving the impasse over the re-fueling of the Tarapur reactor. It decided to involve France as a third country to provide the enriched uranium fuel which the U.S. no longer could provide for the U.S.-built nuclear reactor outside Bombay.

But even though the advanced technology agreement now is at least initiated prior to Mr Rajiv Gandhi's arrival here on June 11, there seems to be a conspiracy of silence—on the part of both Indian and U.S. officials—on the fine print. How much will this really mean in dissipating longtime U.S. suspicions—particularly in the Pentagon—that India is too friendly to the Soviet Union to be entrusted with U.S. technological know-how?

A key indication of a Pentagon change of heart—to agree with the overall Reagan Administration groundwork now put forth—could involve the U.S. F-20 interceptor jet fighter, a plane which has much of the capability of the F-16 the U.S. now provides Pakistan, but at about two-thirds the cost.

Some 2½ years ago, the Indian Air Force invited the plane's manufacturer, America's Northrop Corporation, to discuss its product. Northrop said if India wanted the plane built in India under its licence that would be possible. At that time, the U.S. Department of Defence had included India in a list of 44 countries for export licence.

But then, when the plane's technology description had to be updated and rewritten and presumably routine Pentagon approval again was sought, India's name was deleted from the list of 44 countries—with no reason given. That was in February, 1984.

Then, when Northrop reapplied on behalf of India, the Pentagon, after one year and two weeks, returned the application without action. It explained that until the Government of India specifically requested the purchase of such a U.S. fighter aircraft, the U.S. Department of Defence would not want to take the matter under consideration.

Conceivably, Under Secretary of Defence Ikle, during his visit to Delhi at the end of this month, may be more forthcoming. Another test of the meaningfulness of the new Indo-American advanced technology agreement involves a computer chip factory which America's Dow-Corning Glass-Hemlock Semi-

conductor Corporation hopes to build in India. The agreement supposedly has been finalized but, until now, actual go-ahead of construction is being held up by "technological details."

The Pentagon, whose veto used to be applicable only when the transfer of technology involved something directly applicable to U.S. defence, now works under its own flexible arrangement permitting a veto if such a transfer involves "dual-use"—i.e. a technology which, although intended for something unrelated to arms, could nonetheless be applicable to weaponry.

India, for a long while, had insisted that its word was its bond, that if it gave assurance that U.S. technology would not be passed on to U.S. antagonists (i.e. the Soviet Union and its allies), this would be the case. But, as part of the compromising in the new Indo-American advanced technology agreement, India finally agreed to put in writing that it would abide by U.S. Department of Defence precautions against third-country transfers, and take the same precautions the U.S. itself does against potential espionage.

The Pentagon, however, maintains a double standard on such matters when it comes to Pakistan. It now is assumed in Washington that Pakistan either passes on to the Chinese the advanced U.S. equipment it obtains, or at least lets the Chinese examine it. But this hasn't inhibited the Pentagon from approving the transfer of the U.S. F-16 fighter jets to Pakistan; or approving transfer of the E-2C "Hawkeye" aerial satellites (if Pakistan finds the money to buy these expensive gadgets); or, more recently, approving 400 of the next-to-latest model of the "Sidewinder" aircraft missile. This AEM-GL Sidewinder is now so advanced it can discriminate against heat sources and be fired directly at an attacking plane. The old Sidewinder had to be fired from behind an attacking plane in order to be attracted by the heat from its exhaust.

The rationale for favouring Pakistan is that Pakistan is key to President Reagan's fight against the Soviet invasion and occupation of Afghanistan. The statistics indicating that only about 25 percent of the U.S.-sponsored aid to the Afghan rebels manages to be pried loose from Pakistan and actually get to the resistance against the Soviets doesn't seem to discourage the Reagan Administration's confidence in Pakistan.

India, U.S. want to continue S & T tie-up

From R. Chakrapani

WASHINGTON, May 8.

The U.S. President Mr. Ronald Reagan and the Prime Minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi are expected to give their concurrence to the continuation of the science and technology research co-operation programme that was launched in October 1983 when they held officials talks here next month.

Both India and the U.S. appear to feel that the programme, which involves about 75 research projects in the areas of health, agriculture and monsoon, has been working well and should be continued. The U.S. side is especially happy with the progress of the programme and considers it a "good example" of international cooperation between two scientifically advanced nations.

Red tape cut: After completing all paper work and agreeing on procedures that would cut red tape in order to allow unhindered travel by scientists of the two countries, actual work on all the 75 or more research projects in the two countries has begun. "The government of India is pleased and we are happy", said a high official of the U.S. National Science Foundation (NSF) which coordinates the American side of the programme. On the Indian side, the Department of Science and Technology was named coordinator by the late Indira Gandhi. The programme was begun at her and Mr. Reagan's initiative when they held talks in Washington in July 1982.

In the past, more time was spent by the U.S. agencies and Indian science authorities in settling routine details like travel by exchange scientists and correspondence that it took two to three years before a research programme was agreed upon and, sometimes, this exercise proved too late because the scientists who had shown interest in the research had taken up other assignments. But the authority for coordination vested in the Indian Department of Science, officials at the NSF feel, has helped to speed up matters.

The cooperative research programme was initially approved for two years, until October 31 this year. After a review of its working, it is felt that it should be extended and the period of extension is expected to be three years.

The programme is unique in the sense that both sides are engaged in conducting coordinated research in mutually agreed areas and, what is more, each side is meeting its share of expenses. The American side funded about \$2 millions (about Rs. 2.5 crores) during fiscal 1984 and \$6 millions (about Rs. 7 crores) during the current year. It is likely to have the same funding of \$6 millions for the next year.

Health sector research most advanced: Of the three major areas selected for the programme, research activity in the health sector is said to be most advanced. The actual research projects in the area cover infectious diseases like filariasis, malaria, tuberculosis and leprosy. There have always existed active co-operation between scientists of the two countries and exchange of information even before the Indo-U.S. research programme was conceived and it became relatively easy for the two sets of scientists to agree quickly on topics and methodologies for research. This accounts for the fast pace at which research is proceeding in the health sector. The ultimate object, of course, is to control and prevent the spread of these diseases. Other research subjects include blindness caused by cataract and malnutrition and treating dehydration through oral rehydration.

Projects in progress in the area of agriculture cover biological nitrogen fixation, molecular genetics, efficient use of nitrogen and biomass, to mention only a few. Here the attempt is to maximise agricultural production, among other things. Research is in full swing in these subjects.

Slow pace in monsoon research: The progress in the monsoon sector, it is felt, is not as fast as in the other two years. The short term aspect of monsoon research concerns weather predictions with precision over a period of six or seven days. This is hard of achievement in any part of the world and hence research in this endeavour may be prolonged. The long term monsoon research will also involve complex oceanographic studies. The study of ocean currents and tidal wave problems which have a universal linkage has been a sensitive subject and some of it may also have security ramifications. Hence, the attempt will be to proceed cautiously.

Indo-U.S. talks on trade

By TAPAN DASGUPTA

The Times of India News Service

NEW DELHI, May 14.

THE U.S. commerce secretary, Mr. Malcolm Baldrige's visit to India beginning on Thursday may be the first step towards giving a new dimension to Indo-U.S. commercial relations.

The expectation on both sides is that his talks with the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, and senior government leaders and officials will pave the way for more durable and fruitful bilateral relations between the two countries, particularly in the field of trade, investment and transfer of technology.

TECHNOLOGY FUND

A memorandum of understanding (MOU) on technology transfer has been already initialled. It is expected that certain snags in the way of formalising the MOU into an agreement will be sorted out during the visit so that the signing ceremony can be performed in Washington during Mr. Gandhi's visit to the United States next month.

What is being contemplated under the proposed agreement is to create an Indo-U.S. technology fund for

funding joint R and D projects in this country and facilitating transfer of technology to India. The fund will be piloted by US aid, while the nodal agency will be the Indian Credit and Investment Corporation of India (ICICI).

India is keen on acquiring high-tech in a number of areas in which the United States has a clear edge. These are space research, super computers, satellite technology, lasers, electronics, aero-space industries and military hardware. The country also requires modern technology in some of the traditional industries.

"Snags" in negotiating a science and technology agreement with the U.S. have developed because while the U.S. administration is quite willing to provide technology in trading industries, it is less enthusiastic about the transfer in high-tech areas.

TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER

There are constraints to technology transfer in strategic areas that are even remotely connected with defence due to U.S. legislative actions. Under the U.S. classification of countries, India is neither rated as an ally nor a very friendly country which alone can be supplied with technology in these sophisticated areas.

One silver lining is that technology is a highly competitive field. It is also, perhaps, being realised by U.S. policy makers that the United States in the coming years will have to depend more and more on its exports of technology since manufactured goods are increasingly being edged out in the international market because of high cost.

Thus, even in high-tech areas U.S. firms may be keen to sell because what is their monopoly today may not be so tomorrow.

But the problem for a country like India has been that the U.S. commercial policy has remained geared to its global security policy. Because of hard economic realities, the U.S. ad-

ministration may dilute this security concept outside the U.S. security zone for the sake of commercial gains.

It is here that India may score because of the country's vast market and abundant supply of managerial and technical manpower which can be effectively utilised in U.S.-Indian collaborations for exports to third countries.

The recent changes in India's economic policies backed by administrative reforms and removal of regulations to create a freer atmosphere for the private sector has given confidence to both the U.S. administration and U.S. firms in India.

With regard to Indo-U.S. trade, India had been progressively losing its share in total U.S. imports till 1980. It was 0.75 per cent in 1970, which came down to only 0.46 per cent in 1980, but improved since then slightly.

Even now it is less than 0.86 per cent though a number of developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America have increased their exports to that country.

In both 1983 and 1984, India had a surplus balance of trade amounting to U.S. \$ 370 million and U.S. \$ 982 million respectively mainly due to exports of petroleum crude.

India's exports to the U.S. at U.S. \$ 2,551 million in 1984 accounted for 16.5 per cent of its total exports, while imports from the U.S. at U.S. \$ 1,569.6 million constituted 13.7 per cent of her total imports. But if the crude exports of U.S. \$ 678 million are excluded, India's favourable balance of trade is only marginal.

TRADE DIVERSIFIED

What is significant, however, is the diversification in India's exports to the U.S., because the country is exporting non-traditional and manufactured items such as diamonds, readymade garments, leather and leather products, carpets and rugs besides petroleum crude.

The protectionist measures adopted by the U.S. have hit Indian exports. The imposition of countervailing duties and anti-dumping investigations have created uncertainties regarding exports of industrial fasteners, iron castings, leather footwear uppers, and the U.S. controlled carrier Act has adversely affected the Indian shipping industry and shippers.

It is also significant that under the Generalised System of Preference (GSP), introduced in 1976 for a period of 10 years, exports worth U.S. \$ 181 million were admitted duty-free in 1983, out of India's total exports to the U.S. amounting to U.S. \$ 2,190 million.

There is therefore much for India to talk about when Mr. Baldrige visits New Delhi.

Astronaut From India to Fly on Joint Effort With U.S.



Associated Press

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi of India and his wife, Sonia, during visit yesterday to Paris. President François Mitterrand is at center.

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 8—The United States and India are scheduled to announce a joint space effort next week that will include the launching of an Indian astronaut in 1986 along with American astronauts, Administration officials said today.

Details of the venture on the space shuttle are to be disclosed during the visit of the Indian Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, to Washington and to the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center in Houston. The visit by the Indian leader is designed to ease strains with the United States, reach a series of space and technology agreements and open a nationwide cultural program, the Festival of India.

A highlight of the visit, Administration officials said, will be a series of announcements on joint efforts in space, science and technology. These include plans to put an Indian payload specialist on the space shuttle next year and the launching of a satellite on the same mission that is partly designed to expand the uses of radio and television in Indian villages.

Of the space effort, an Administration official said, "It's a noncontroversial and solid new beginning for us." Last year the Soviet Union launched an Indian astronaut in space on an eight-day mission.

Several Reagan Administration officials remain deeply troubled, nonetheless, at Mr. Gandhi's criticism in Moscow last month of some American policies, as well as his reluctance to condemn the Soviet Union directly for its intervention in Afghanistan.

The Indian leader, 40 years old, said in Moscow that the United States had turned "a blind eye" and failed to restrain Pakistan's development of a nuclear weapon, which he said was "very close" to being achieved. Pakistan, India's main rival in the region, denies that it is developing a nuclear weapon, and State Department officials say the major American arms aid given to Pakistan "presumes restraint in the nuclear area."

Despite Mr. Gandhi's criticism, White House and State Department officials have generally adopted a positive view of the Indian leader.

"Rajiv Gandhi is young, he's going to be around a long time, he doesn't know us well, and it's very important for both sides to establish a positive relationship now," a ranking Administration official said. "What we want to make sure is that he understands our point of view and that we have an easy, open relationship with him."

The official added that there was "a perception in the Administration and in the country that India is an emerging power in a region that's more important to us than it was 10 years ago."

Democratic Bedrock in Region

He said the fall of the Shah of Iran as well as the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan had created turmoil in a region in which India — despite its extreme poverty and internal problems — served as a democratic bedrock.

The Administration's interest in Mr. Gandhi is underscored by what one official termed "the unusual commitment of time" given to him by high officials. He is scheduled to spend most of Wednesday morning with President Reagan, hold separate meetings with five Cabinet officers, address a joint meeting of Congress on Thursday, speak to journalists and fly to Houston on Saturday with Vice President Bush to visit the space center there.

Mr. Gandhi visited the United States briefly, in July 1982, when he accompanied his mother, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, to Washington. Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated by two of her Sikh bodyguards on Oct. 31, 1984.

On one level, officials say, Mr. Reagan and Mr. Gandhi will seek to cement relations with a set of specific agreements. These would pave the way for high-technology exports and investments in India as well as expand American efforts to supply vaccine and help in vaccine research for a variety of diseases that afflict India.

On another level, the United States will seek to improve diplomatic ties to India, ties that have been periodically disrupted.

Aid to Pakistan an Issue

Officials say the Administration will make efforts to ease the most recent strains that developed over the \$3.2 billion in military and economic aid that the Administration in 1981 agreed to provide Pakistan over six years. The Administration views the aid to Paki-

stan as a counterweight to the presence of more than 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan. India views the aid to its rival as a threat.

Administration officials seem

divided over Mr. Gandhi's recent criticism of the United States, with State Department officers saying the comments seemed relatively muted, almost predictable.

Indo-U.S. space tie-up likely

By J. N. PARIMOO

The Times of India News Service

WASHINGTON, June 10.

THE proposed visit of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, here this week may mark a new phase in Indo-U.S. co-operation in space research.

India has offered to join in research on a number of NASA space programmes, the ambitious plan initiated by the Reagan administration to put a space station in orbit has evoked particular interest in India, according to well-informed sources here.

The Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) wants to carry out experiments on a U.S.-built space station which is scheduled to go into orbit by the mid-nineties.

An official announcement may be made here this week of the Indo-U.S. plans to send an Indian scientist in the U.S. space shuttle by the middle of next year. The shuttle will carry an Indian satellite and put it in orbit for ISRO.

NEW PHASE

A statement setting the parameters for a new and higher level phase of co-operation in space may be signed here in the course of the four-day visit of Mr. Gandhi.

Indo-U.S. co-operation in space dates back to the early sixties, when the U.S., along with a number of other countries, launched space rockets from the Thumba base in India to probe the outer reaches of the atmosphere for wind speeds and other unexplored features. The collaboration between the space organisations of the two countries became closer in 1975, when the U.S. loaned to India-U.S. of one of its satellites for the Indian broadcasting programme beamed to distant rural areas.

By the mid-sixties there was a change in India's space strategy. It decided on a programme of launching its own satellites with, if possible, its own launching rockets and launching fuel. This phase of India's space programme will reach its climax by the end of this year, when ISRO launches from Sri Harikota an Indian satellite complete with its own satellite launch vehicle and launching fuel.

TIES WITH USSR

In the meantime, the Indian space co-operation programmes with the U.S. and the Soviet Union are entering a new phase.

Apart from its interest in the U.S. plans for a space station, India has offered to co-operate in the U.S. programme for launching in September next year a space telescope to probe distant star systems. Three months ago, a team of Indian scientists came here to discuss the ways in which Indian research could possibly benefit from the U.S. programme.

Another area where India has shown considerable interest is in the U.S. infra-red astronomy satellite programme. The satellite, according to NASA experts here, has already returned excellent data which Indian scientists want to share. It was the finding of this satellite that raised hopes last year that man may not be alone in the universe and that there may be planets and solar systems other than our own sustaining some form of life similar to our own.

In the area of earth observation, ISRO has shown interest in sharing the micro-wave data obtained by the U.S. through its latest techniques of observation. This would enable Indian science to penetrate the thick cloud cover over most of the country during the monsoons. It would also help in observation through the darkness of the night. Japan, West Germany and Canada are also evolving new techniques in this area of research. But India has chosen to seek U.S. co-operation.

RESCUE PROJECT

India also wants to join the international emergency rescue project, under which five satellites are continuously in orbit to look out for signals from aircraft or ships that may be in distress for reasons of any accident or disaster. The satellites receive the distress signals and pass them on to the nearest earth stations for immediate rescue operations. France, the U.K., the Soviet Union, Canada and the U.S. are members of the programme that runs this satellite network. India wants to join them to monitor the south

Asian region. The project is known as Kospas-Sarsat. The word Kospas is Russian and the abbreviation Sarsat is English.

A senior officer of NASA, commenting on the new possibilities opened up by the renewed Indo-U.S. space co-operation, said in an interview: "Beyond any doubt, India is today the leader of the developing world in the area of scientific research and technology. The country is taking giant leaps. When other countries come here for talks, I tell them 'go take your lessons from India'."

Meanwhile, Mr. Rakesh Sharma, the Indian astronaut who went into space in a Soviet satellite a year ago, was here on a visit to Chicago where he participated in the inauguration of the Festival of India (science exhibition). In an interview, Mr. Sharma said that while in orbit, he experimented with some yoga exercises to combat fatigue caused by zero gravity conditions. He said he had come to know recently that Soviet astronauts might adopt the yoga technique to fight zero gravity because the Soviets were convinced of the results produced by his yoga experiments.

Beaming with pride, the young astronaut said Indian space science and

technology had come a long way and if India wanted, it could put a manned satellite in orbit in the matter of only a few years. "But we are not going to do that because we have other more important priorities," he added hastily. He said the Indian who would soon be chosen for next year's space shuttle flight would not be an astronaut but an engineer or scientist. His job would be to observe the loading and launching of the satellite and he might conduct some research experiments. The scientist would be selected from out of a panel which had already been prepared, he added.

PM regrets erosion in aid offers

From R. Chakrapani

WASHINGTON, June 13.

Apart from elaborating on themes like liberty, democratic ideals, rule of law, rights of man and non-alignment, the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, tried to revive the old fervour in U.S. legislators for providing concessional international assistance to the world's low income nations.

Addressing a joint session of the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate after duly being welcomed by the House Speaker, Mr. Thomas O'Neill, Mr. Gandhi reminisced: "There was a time when the world community was firmly committed to the idea of international economic cooperation through multilateral action. The United States played a leading role in developing this consensus."

Commitment eroded: The Prime Minister noted that recent years had shown a "sad erosion" in this commitment. "Concessional assistance", he said, "is drying up at a time when it is needed most. Trade barriers are going up. The livelihood of millions in developing countries is in jeopardy. None of this is really beneficial to the developed countries. Greater growth in the developing world means greater demand for industrial goods and services in the developed countries. Growth enlarges markets to the benefit of all."

Whether Mr. Gandhi's appeal to the U.S. legislators, who have an important say in the allocation of funds for the World Bank's soft loan window, IDA, will change hardened minds at Capitol Hill is a moot question. But the appeal is timely because very soon the Reagan administration has to make up its mind whether it will support the next replenishment, IDA-8, with increased donation or let IDA die a slow death by reducing U.S. commitment. World Bank authorities have said that negotiations for IDA-8 will begin either towards the end of the current year or early in 1986.

Sure to have effect: Mr. Gandhi's personal appearance before the legislators as Prime Minister of the world's largest democracy is certain to have some impact on the House Representatives and Senators about the new government in India devoted to disarmament, a nuclear-free world, peace with all countries, especially in South Asia, as they deal with problems such as approval of arms for Pakistan, bilateral assistance to developing countries and in posting themselves with foreign policy developments in various regions of the world.

"We are concerned about any new dimensions to the arms race," Mr. Gandhi said in a frequently cheered speech. "This only makes the ultimate objective more difficult to achieve. Hence our deep reservation about the militarisation of outer space".

Worried about militarisation: India, he said, was apprehensive about the establishment of military bases in the world. "We are directly affected by the militarisation of the Indian Ocean and the inflow of increasingly sophisticated arms into our neighbourhood".

As regards India's neighbours, Mr. Gandhi said: "We desire peace, good neighbourliness and friendly cooperation in South Asia. We have taken several initiatives bilaterally to improve our relations with our neighbours. We propose to build upon the natural goodwill and

sense of brotherhood of our people".

Mr. Gandhi told the legislators that the contours of South Asian regional cooperation had been etched. "Before the end of the year, at Dhaka in Bangladesh, we expect to launch the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation".

Mr. Gandhi tried to remove misconceptions about non-alignment with the statement that "non-alignment is the extension of the idea of democracy to international relations".

Attempt to clear air: On Afghanistan, he again tried to remove wrong notions about India's policy as being supportive of the Soviet Union. "We stand for a political settlement in Afghanistan that ensures sovereignty, integrity, independence and non-aligned status, and enables the refugees to return to their homes in safety and honour". But he said such a settlement could come only through dialogue and a realistic consensus among the parties directly concerned.

Mr. Gandhi dealt with Indo-U.S. relations too in his speech. "The peoples of India and the United States," he said, "are not allies in security strategies, but they are friends in larger than human causes—freedom, justice and peace."

About his current visit, he said his talks with the U.S. President, Mr. Ronald Reagan, and his colleagues had been most valuable, characterised by open-mindedness and receptivity.

U.S. role acknowledged: He gave an account of India's development efforts. While saying that much of the advancement was achieved by India's own efforts, he handsomely acknowledged early U.S. assistance to India in staging the successful "green revolution".

Indo-U.S. technology pact to be extended

From R. Chakrapani

HOUSTON, June 16.

Last week's talks between the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi and the U.S. President, Mr. Reagan in Washington have failed to resolve differences between the two Governments over the present American policy toward Pakistan.

This is apparent from a joint statement issued by the two sides yesterday at the end of a four-day official visit paid by Mr. Gandhi to the U.S. He left Houston for Geneva on his way back home yesterday after a visit to the Johnson Space Centre and talks with the Indian community there.

Arms policy

The joint statement merely said that during the detailed discussions between Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Reagan they expressed their "respective views and concerns" about the security environment in South Asia. India has been of the view that the U.S. policy of supplying sophisticated weapons to Pakistan was proving injurious to India's interests. India was compelled to divert its development funds for acquiring military equipment. India has felt further concerned at the advance made by Pakistan in acquiring nuclear weapons and urged the U.S. to pressure the Islamabad Government to quit its bomb-making quest.

The U.S. side has been maintaining, however, that Pakistan's nuclear programme has not reached the critical point yet and claimed that the U.S. policy of arming Pakistan was deterring Islamabad from exploding a nuclear device. Both India and the U.S., after the high-level talks have stuck to their respective points of view.

Regional cooperation

According to the statement, the Prime Minister highlighted the recent initiatives taken by his Government and the efforts of the countries of South Asia to further strengthen regional cooperation through the South Asian Regional Cooperation Organisation.

The statement said the President welcomed the steps being taken to promote regional stability and cooperation in South Asia.

The joint statement envisages "continued consultation and close cooperation" with the Indian Government on the international dimensions of terrorist violence against India. Both Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Reagan noted with concern

the emergence of organised terrorism as a threat to peace and democracy.

In other parts, the communique expressed "strong support" for the provision of continued assistance for India by the World Bank and "its affiliates", the absence of any mention of International Development Association in the joint statement leaves open the question of the extent of future U.S. commitment to the Association.

The statement provides for the extension of the science and technology agreement of 1982 by an additional period of three years. Noting that the cooperation has been highly successful, two new efforts have been initiated under the agreement. The first is a vaccine production/ programme to develop and produce vaccines against major communicable diseases. The second envisages long term research and technology development programme in agriculture and forestry, health and nutrition, family welfare and biomedical research and industrial research and development.

The Prime Minister and the President welcomed the approval of the programme for advancement of commercial technology which promises to provide important links between Indian and American firms in scientific and technical research and development areas. They endorsed the growing peaceful cooperation in space between their two countries.

River pollution

The President stated the U.S. is prepared to share with India its experience in reducing pollution of large river systems. A start has already been made with the recent exchange between pollution control specialists on the possibilities of Indo-U.S. collaboration in the Ganga action plan.

According to the statement, the two leaders discussed the considerable potential for expansion of bilateral trade and technological collaboration between the two countries. Both sides noted with satisfaction that a memorandum of understanding on technology transfer and its implementation procedures have recently been signed and should facilitate trade and collaboration in advanced technology between the two countries. They also agreed to continue discussions on a bilateral tax treaty. Both leaders look forward to the possibility of high level trade and investment missions visiting each country in the near future.

The Prime Minister renewed the invitation to Mr. Reagan to pay an official visit to India,

which the President gladly accepted.

The two leaders reviewed bilateral relations between their two countries. They reaffirmed their desire to broaden these ties, and in that regard they pointed to the wide range of programmes and cooperative ventures, either already undertaken or currently being planned. Each reiterated his conviction that their continued high-level dialogue would strengthen the promotion of universally shared goals of peace and prosperity.

They agreed that the current cultural festivals would make a significant contribution to improving mutual understanding, an important goal for both nations. They discussed other activities that might serve to perpetuate the spirit of the festivals, including development of cooperative programmes in education and exchange programmes in diverse fields. They agreed that such a programme served their mutual goal of broadening people-to-people contacts between their two countries.

Arriving here from Washington by the President's plane, Mr. Gandhi, accompanied by the Vice President, Mr. George Bush and Mrs. Sonia Gandhi, went to the Johnson Space Centre where he studied and tried his hand at the gadgets in the mockup spacecraft station there. The model is used to train astronauts before they are sent on space flights. It has all the features of a spacecraft.

Is India's Economic Miracle at Hand?

By JAGDISH N. BHAGWATI

INDIA has come alive, imprinting itself on the American mind through the celluloid images of "Jewel in the Crown" and "A Passage to India." The exotic has been reinforced by the outsized disaster that overwhelmed the impoverished in Bhopal, as well as by the assassination of Indira Gandhi and the violence that followed it.

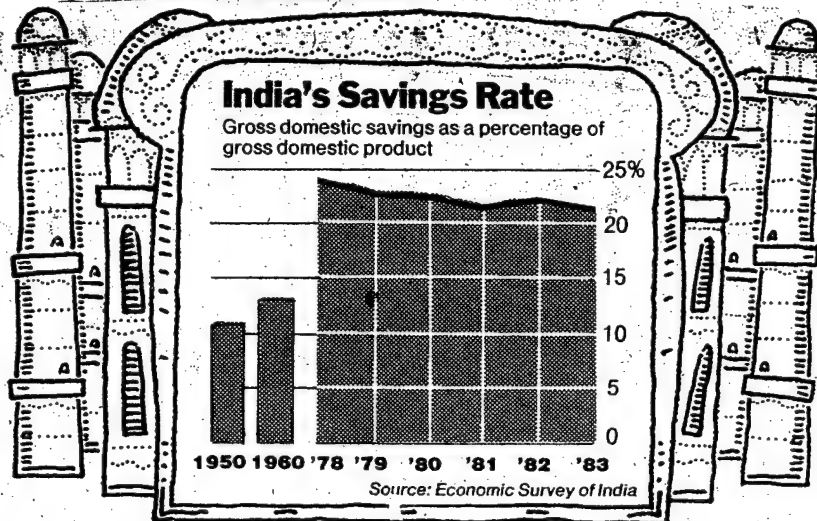
But, on the eve of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's visit here, few Americans are aware that India is no longer the "dust and ashes" of popular imagination. The Indian economy has progressed without the dramatic zigzags (such as the Cultural Revolution) that have plagued China's economy. Far more than China today, India is an economic miracle waiting to happen. And if the miracle is accomplished, the central figure will be the young Prime Minister.

Coming of age in an England no longer dominated by the Fabian Socialism that influenced his mother, Mrs. Gandhi, and grandfather, Jawaharlal Nehru, and intuitively sensing India's great potential if the economy is freed up, Mr. Gandhi has seized the moment. He is giving evidence of new directions, departing sharply from Mrs. Gandhi's policies of strict bureaucratic control.

His principal economic advisers, two brilliant and pragmatic Sikhs, symbolize the change. Manmohan Singh, 52, heading the reinvigorated Planning Commission, is an early and forceful advocate of an increased outward orientation in economic policy — lowering trade barriers, encouraging exports and embarking cautiously on external borrowing and foreign investment to prime the development engine.

Montek Ahluwalia, 41, adviser in the Prime Minister's Secretariat, has articulately supported the thesis that growth does matter in reducing poverty (against the left, which believes that poverty is better attacked through stronger controls and redistribution of income). He played a leading role in a recent reduction in income tax rates, and he has argued

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successfully for the easing of internal controls on investment. Under the old system, designed to prevent concentrations of economic wealth, investment companies with assets of more than \$16 million needed Government approval for new investments. Now, the asset size has been raised to \$30 million. Also, irrational restrictions preventing diversification according to market dictates have been drastically reduced.

THE new Government's reforms are designed to free India from the shackles imposed over four decades by a Government that discouraged trade and foreign investment and relied excessively on bureaucratic controls of the economy to market approaches.

Under the guidance of Mr. Nehru and Mrs. Gandhi, India progressed much. But it also came to be afflicted by Soviet-style inefficiencies. As a result, her postwar growth rate of about 4 percent a year, while substantial, did not rise commensurately with the impressive rise in her savings and investment rates and in her skill levels.

Because India's policy makers were stubbornly tied to "export pessimism," they missed the postwar trade opportunity that the Far Eastern economies seized to reach unprecedented prosperity. Thus, India's share of world exports fell from 2.4 percent in 1948 to 0.41 percent in 1981. In contrast, South Korea's manufactured exports, once negligible compared with India's, were four times

those of India's \$4.4 billion in 1980.

Controls on investment, production and exports multiplied over the years to excess. The Government's role often degenerated into a series of "don'ts," as opposed to the activist "do's" of the authorities in the Far Eastern economies. The problem was not an interventionist Government, but that the intervention was of the wrong kind. While often justified as a way of insuring fairness and an even allocation of investments, the Government bureaucracy may have accentuated disparities.

Despite these hindrances, India's economy grew strongly in the postwar years — a further indication of her enormous untapped potential. Growth rates rose from the relative stagnation of the pre-independence years to almost 4 percent a year during much of the postwar period. In the last five years, growth has accelerated to over 5 percent. To sustain growth, it has raised its gross investment rate, now financed almost wholly through domestic savings, to 25 percent of its gross national product of \$184 billion, up from 10 percent in 1950.

India's planners have successfully used growth to attack the all-pervasive poverty inherited with independence. A recent study, tracking the same families between 1970 and 1980, found that the per capita consumption of the poorest 10 percent of rural households rose by 128 percent. Other indicators reinforce this conclusion. Life expectancy, now over 50, has

risen by 25 percent in two decades. Primary education (for students between 6 and 11), was slow to take off but now shows enrollment of 83 percent of India's children, compared with 43 percent in 1950. Infant mortality has fallen by 25 percent since 1960.

India has also chalked up remarkable gains in scientific and technical skills. India has mined manganese nodules from the sea bed, is into space and has a nuclear establishment. United States campuses and laboratories have distinguished Indians on their staffs, among them Nobel laureates; they belong to the Diaspora encouraged by India's humane and open door policy toward emigration.

YEARs of agricultural extension, scientific work adapting the Green Revolution to Indian conditions, and governmental incentives have also produced results. By 1983, production of food grains had risen threefold since 1950, to 151 million tons a year. Finally, food is not imported.

Remarkably, these gains have been made consistent with extremely low inflation rates. The inflation rate has reached double digits in only 6 of the last 25 years, and averaged 6.2 percent between 1981 and 1985. But the greatest marvel of all is that the Indians have accomplished this with a highly diverse and populous democracy rather than with the aid of the iron fist that has surfaced too often elsewhere.

Whether the Prime Minister can stay the course, shifting India's economy decisively into a higher gear, depends on a complex of factors. Mr. Gandhi will have to contain the inevitable opposition from the radical left within his own party. Bureaucrats nurtured on the power that controls confer, will be eager for the new initiatives to founder. Established businesses may wish to preserve the security of controlled and hence protected domestic markets, seeking less hassle from the bureaucrats but not the winds of competition that would be let loose with the end of controls.

If the Prime Minister fails to impose these economic reforms, a splendid opportunity to stand tall on the shoulders of his predecessors will have been lost. If he succeeds, as he well might, the Indian economic miracle will come to pass. ■

THINGS NUCLEAR

US ignoring Pak bomb: PM

Moscow, May 22 (UNI): The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today expressed serious concern at Pakistan being "close to developing a nuclear weapon" and the United States turning, "a blind eye" to it.

"We are worried that the US, which can do more in stopping Pakistan from developing a nuclear weapon, is not doing so," Mr Gandhi said while addressing a well-attended press conference after a whirl of engagements which included holding exclusive talks with the Soviet communist party chief, Mr Mikhail Gorbachyov, signing two economic cooperation agreements, receiving the Lenin Peace Prize posthumously awarded to his mother and naming a square after Mrs Indira Gandhi.

Citing an instance, Mr Gandhi said that recently a Pakistani national was caught by US customs authorities while trying to smuggle out certain triggering devices, but let off after being charged, for some minor offences. He pointed out that the only exception to the Symington agreement was Pakistan.

The Prime Minister in his opening statement, spoke about the cordial and growing relations between India and the Soviet Union. He said "our friendship aimed against anyone. It is for the development of our country. We look forward to greater bilateral cooperation."

In this context, he said the two sides had signed two agreements during the day for enlarged cooperation in core sectors like power, coal, gas and oil.

He also spoke of the concern of the two countries at the growing nuclear threat and their endeavours to eliminate it, promote peace and lesson areas of

tension. He expressed happiness that the Soviet Union readily supported the Delhi Declaration on nuclear disarmament. "The United States did not even bother to pick up the declaration," he observed.

Mr Gandhi answered questions on a number of subjects like his forthcoming US visit, Asian security, the escalating arms race and his discussions with Mr Gorbachyov.

Asked whether after his discussions with Mr Gorbachyov, he had found a change in Soviet foreign policy, Mr Gandhi replied in the negative.

On India's relations with the US he said they were looking to the US for greater technical, cultural and trade ties.

A correspondent suggested that during his US visit, Mr Reagan might expect him to be enthusiastic about recent American foreign policy on developing relations with India. Mr Gandhi said, "We do not compromise our position in return for anything."

Mr Gandhi told a correspondent that the Afghanistan issue did figure in his talks with Mr Gorbachyov adding that India's position on Afghanistan was clear. They were against any foreign intervention or interference in the internal affairs of any country.

Mr Gandhi replied in the negative when asked whether Mr Gorbachyov discussed with him any prospect of the latter visiting the United States.

Asked for his updated assessment of the Indo-Soviet friendship treaty, Mr Gandhi said it had played a very major role and helped in developing bilateral relations.

Arms deal with US during PM's visit

From Rita Manchanda

New Delhi, May 22: The memorandum of understanding (MOU) on the transfer of high technology for defence use with the United States will be signed during the visit of the Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, to Washington next month.

The MOU was initialled early in May by the visiting under secretary of state, Mr Fred Ikle, and the scientific advisor to the ministry of defence, Mr V. Arunachalam. There had been initial problems with the Americans insisting on site inspection to ensure that there was no diversion of technology to countries like the Soviet Union.

However, a mutually accepted formula has been worked out under which the US can ask India to undertake an investiga-

tion if it suspects of any leakage. The Indian government will have the discretion to associate the US in such investigations. A similar formula has also been worked out for the MOU signed last week on transfer of high technology for civilian use during the visit of the US commerce secretary, Mr Malcolm Baldrige.

As proof of American sincerity to transfer defence technology, the Pentagon has cleared in principle, the export of the high-speed computer VAX 11/780. The Soviets do not have such an advanced computer yet. However, problems remain over the clearance of electronic radar equipment for defence purposes.

The Pentagon has also expressed willingness to transfer to India licensed production rights for weapons systems. The offer was conveyed to the de-

fence minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, by the US ambassador, Mr Harry G. Barnes. The offer is seen as a major concession as negotiations for the sale of 155-mm gun, Tow missiles and C-130 transport aircraft in 1980 fell through largely because of America's refusal to include the option of licensed production.

The US has renewed its offer on the 1980 negotiations, but the government is understood to have told the Pentagon that alternative arrangements have been made. While Tow missiles are no longer needed as India is manufacturing equivalent Milan missiles, the defence ministry is still searching for the 155 mm gun. The 155 mm American gun, which Pakistan has, is considered superior to the French, Austrian or Swedish gun. The defence secretary, Mr S.K. Bhat-

nagar, was recently in Paris to discuss the 155 mm gun and a decision is expected to be taken shortly as the French have reduced their price.

This "new" American willingness to transfer sophisticated defence technology to India, is the result of the Ronald Reagan Administration's acceptance that Rajiv Gandhi's government is not a Soviet stooge and that a strong self-reliant India would further reduce its dependence on the Soviets. However, the only remaining apprehension seems to be the fear of sensitive technology being leaked to the Soviet Union. According to the Export Administration Act, India is identified in the Group V countries, that include Yugoslavia and China and require special clearance from the Pentagon. Under the MOU, these procedures will also be streamlined.

Gandhi Hits U.S. 'Soft Line' on Pakistan

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Foreign Service

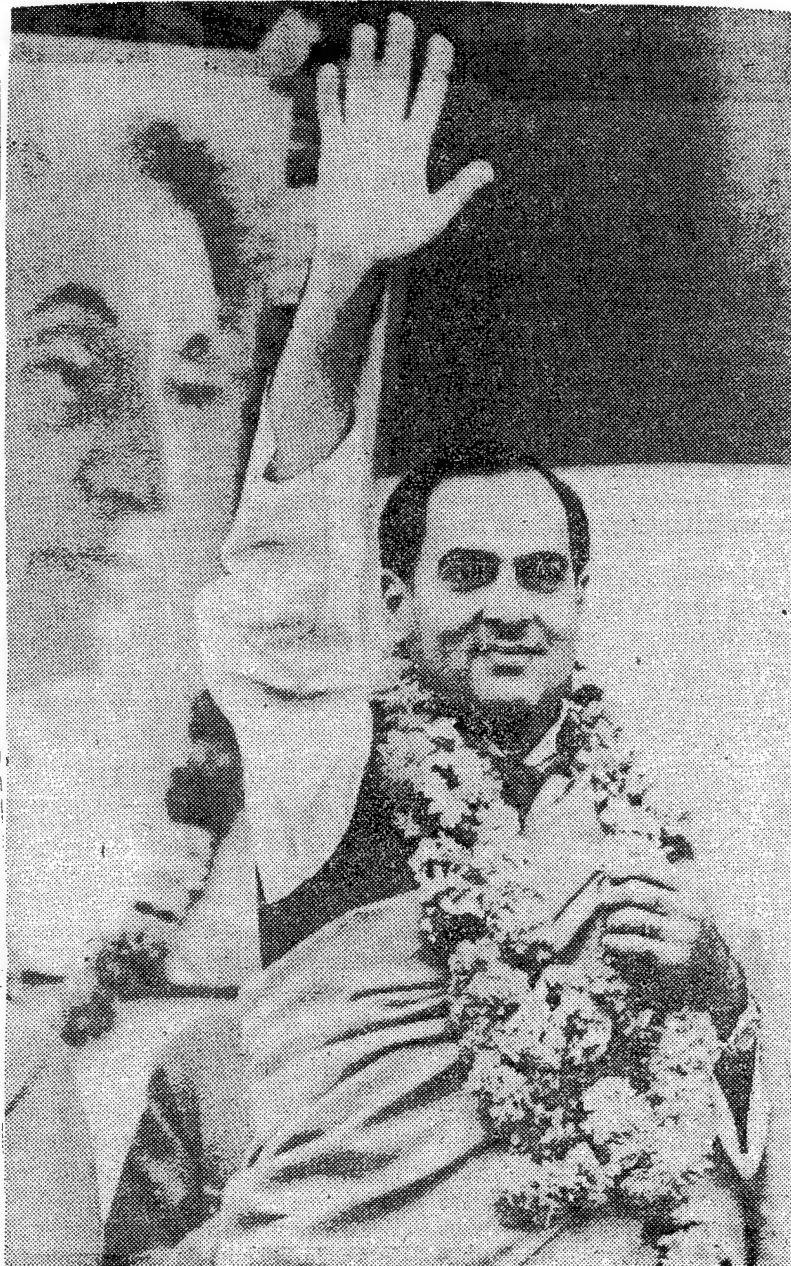
NEW DELHI, June 4—Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, serving notice that major issues still remain in U.S.-Indian relations, today accused the United States of taking a "soft line" toward Pakistan's efforts to develop nuclear weapons and indicated that India might make its own atomic bomb to match its neighbor's.

"We have to think about how we can counter the presence of a nuclear weapon right across our border [in Pakistan] when we know that the country that is likely to get it has attacked us on three occasions without provocation," Gandhi said in an interview with American news organizations on the eve of a five-nation trip that will include the United States.

The nuclear issue was one among several cited by the new Indian leader as he prepared for his first official visit to Washington, which has been actively seeking to place U.S.-Indian relations on a new and smoother plane.

While Gandhi's remarks today served notice that the process will take time, the tenor of his comments was much softer than their substance, and stood in marked contrast to the sometimes strident rhetoric of his mother, the late prime minister Indira Gandhi. This underscored the more optimistic note struck by the recent accord reached by the two countries that allows new high-technology transfers, including in the sensitive military arena.

Gandhi said he will discuss Pakistan's nuclear program with President Reagan during his U.S. visit from June 11 to 16 and that he will urge Washington to take stronger steps to try to curb it.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Gandhi, in front of his mother's portrait, greets crowds after election victory.

Gandhi also told reporters the United States should be tougher with Pakistanis caught trying to smuggle sophisticated supplies from the United States for use in making nuclear weapons. Gandhi said one man who was arrested in Houston last year was allowed to return to Pakistan instead of going to jail in the United States.

The Indian prime minister also criticized the FBI for what Gandhi described as not passing on information to his government that Sikh terrorists who were allegedly planning to assassinate him were also planning to blow up a nuclear plant in India.

During the hour-long interview, Gandhi exhibited unusual flexibility for an Indian leader, indicating a willingness to give on some of India's stands while stating the purpose of his Washington visit as one in which he hoped to "narrow down our differences."

The change in tone actually began with Indira Gandhi at her first meeting with Reagan in Cancun, Mexico, in 1981 and continued during her last visit to Washington in July 1982. Rajiv Gandhi said today that those meetings laid the foundation for his current visit and the new tenor of warmer relations between Washington and New Delhi.

But he made clear that India would not back away from either close ties with Moscow or its own position on South Asian regional problems as a price for a closer relationship with the United States.

Nevertheless, Gandhi's visit comes at a time when the often prickly relations between the United States and India are at their smoothest level in more than a decade. The Reagan administration, which in effect dismissed India as aligned too closely with the Soviet Union at the beginning of its first term, now talks about long-term efforts to wean New Delhi away from its Soviet arms relationship. These efforts include allowing India to buy sophisticated U.S. technology so it can build its own high performance military equipment, ranking administration officials and key lawmakers have said here and in Washington.

As part of the new administration strategy, an unusually large number of high U.S. officials—including Vice President Bush, Secretary of State George P. Shultz and Undersecretary of Defense for policy Fred Ikle—have visited India over the past eight months.

The new U.S. strategy was approved by Reagan shortly before Indira Gandhi's assassination last year, and gained strength with the landslide election of her son as prime minister in December.

While arms sales are unlikely during his trip, Gandhi will meet with manufacturers of high-technology products that India can now buy under a technology transfer agreement signed here last month during a visit by U.S. Commerce Secretary Malcolm Baldrige.

That agreement, widely publicized here, received little notice in the United States. But the agreement, scheduled to be initialed next week in a White House ceremony by Reagan and Gandhi, is the most tangible sign so far of Washington's intensified interest in forging closer ties to India.

That agreement and the Ikle visit are symbolic of the administration decision to overcome opposition from Pentagon hard-liners about sales of high-technology products.

A recent high-level U.S. senatorial delegation brought an offer from Lockheed to join with India in designing its own light combat aircraft that would be built in India, according to members of the delegation. The U.S. visitors said the Lockheed offer sparked strong interest among members of New

See GANDHI, A27, Col. 1

GANDHI, From A25

Delhi's defense establishment, who have been trying without success to design a similar jet fighter.

That kind of offer is seen by the Reagan administration as more attractive to India, which wants to develop its own sophisticated defense industry, than an arms sales agreement of the type it has with Moscow.

Reagan administration wooing of India has not escaped notice in Moscow, which, according to U.S. and

Indian sources, has stepped up its own campaign to emphasize its long-time support for New Delhi and its regional policies.

At the press conference today, Gandhi said he was not sure India will take the bait of U.S. high-technology sales to build its own sophisticated weapons.

"We welcome it," he said. "But how much we are going to go into and use it is a question that still must be decided. You must remember that the Soviet Union has been very consistent in its support of India."

He emphasized that his U.S. trip was not a shopping expedition. "We'll have to see exactly what the small print is," he said, referring to the agreement. "For me," he said, "it is not a trip to buy things and get things. . . . It is a trip to meet your leadership and build up an understanding."

On the nuclear issue, Gandhi said, "We are not developing a nuclear weapons program at the moment. We would like not to develop a nuclear weapons program."

[In an interview this week with the French newspaper Le Monde, Gandhi said India, in principle, was against the idea of becoming a nuclear power. "We could have done it for the last 10 or 11 years and we have not done it," United Press International quoted him as saying in the interview. "If we take the decision, it will be a matter of several weeks or several months."]

India exploded a "peaceful nuclear device" in 1974, thereby joining the club of nations considered able to make atomic weapons. But most sources agree that it has not gone ahead and developed an atomic bomb.

On the alleged plot by Sikh terrorists to kill him, Gandhi said the FBI "should have told us of the attempted attack on our nuclear plant because that's something that's not limited to India."

As part of the plot, uncovered by the FBI in mid-May, strategic locations in India, allegedly including a nuclear power plant, were among those targeted for bombing. "It could have been a Three Mile Island sort of thing," said Gandhi, referring to the partial meltdown of the reactor core at a Pennsylvania nuclear power plant in 1979.

But he tempered that criticism by saying "we are now satisfied" that the United States "will do everything it can to help us in this particular case." FBI agents, in a sting operation, broke up a plot by seven Sikh terrorists to assassinate Gandhi during his visit to the United States, and to kill the chief minister of the Indian state of Haryana, Bhajan Lal, who was in New Orleans for medical treatment.

Despite the plot against him, Gandhi said he is "not afraid to go to the United States at all." But he acknowledged that the added security that now surrounds him will limit his ability to see the country.

"Let us say I might get less out of this visit than we could have gotten. But I still think that the improved atmosphere between the two countries will lead us to get more out of the visit," he said.

Gandhi appeared to gain confidence after a shaky start in the news conference today, and seemed better prepared to field questions on domestic and regional issues than on the type of foreign policy concerns he is likely to be dealing with in Washington, where he will be making his first visit as a head of government.

Asked about President Reagan's tendency to see the world in terms of Communist and anti-Communist nations, Gandhi said, "If President Reagan sees it red and white, we see it a nice rosy color."

Gandhi insisted that India has been even-handed in criticizing the United States and the Soviet Union, and compared Moscow's invasion of Afghanistan to the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

Maybe to NPT

For the second time in five weeks Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has made a major pronouncement on nuclear policy. Talking to newsmen in Paris on Friday, he declared that if Pakistan did not go for nuclear weapons India would be ready to sign the nuclear nonproliferation treaty (NPT). Addressing the AICC session in New Delhi on May 4, the Prime Minister had indicated that if Pakistan did go ahead with its nuclear weapons programme, India would have to review its own stand on the question. Taken together, the two statements seem to indicate that New Delhi's current position on the nuclear option hinges entirely on what Pakistan does. If Pakistan builds the bomb, we shall reconsider our resolve not to build one. If Pakistan forswears the weapons option, we shall be ready to give an undertaking never to tread that path.

And yet, for 17 long years India has refused to sign the NPT. The UN-sponsored treaty has been anathema to India not because one of its hostile neighbours had the bomb and another was in pursuit of it. It has differed with the 126 signatories to the NPT simply because what was involved was a matter of principle. India has consistently maintained that the NPT is discriminatory. Why should nonweapons states undertake not to acquire a weapons capability when there are no curbs on the weapons programmes of the nuclear powers? If the nuclear haves feel that the spread of nuclear weapons needs to be checked, they should first reduce their own arsenals. Surely, it cannot be argued that what is safe in the hands of a set of nations is unsafe in the hands of the rest?

Three months from now, delegates from 85 nations will forgather in Geneva to examine whether or not the entire NPT exercise has been worthwhile. After all, NPT notwithstanding, humanity today is only closer to a nuclear holocaust than it was in 1968. If in spite of all this, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has chosen to reopen the question of signing the NPT, it is because he is determined to try his best to keep the subcontinent free of nuclear weapons. His offer to sign the NPT should in this context be interpreted as a remarkable gesture. A major foreign policy objective of his swing through Paris and Washington is to secure the assurance of the two capitals that they will strive to dissuade Islamabad from building the bomb. He has impressed upon President Mitterrand the need to do this. It will be considerably more difficult to bring it home to President Reagan. US advocacy of nonproliferation has always sounded hollow because it has followed double standards on the question when matters have concerned Israel and Pakistan. The damage that this policy has caused is there for all to see. Will Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi succeed in making Washington see sense?

P.M. asks Reagan to pressure Pakistan against N-programme

WASHINGTON, June 12.—The Prime Minister today asked President Reagan to put "pressure" on Pakistan to dissuade it from going ahead with its nuclear programme, report PTI and UNI. Mr Reagan replied that the USA was also concerned over Pakistan's nuclear ambition. "We are doing all we can to discourage this programme as also nuclear proliferation in the whole region". The question of U.S. arms supply to Pakistan and its nuclear intentions came up during the 20-minute meeting Mr Rajiv Gandhi had with Mr Reagan at the start of his four-day tour.

Pakistan figured prominently in the discussions in which Mr Gandhi was assisted among others by the Defence Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao.

The Prime Minister apprised the U.S. President of India's efforts to improve relations with its neighbours. There had been a general improvement in the region but the "real sore point" was Pakistan's nuclear programme.

Mr Gandhi said India was worried about U.S. arms supply to Pakistan because "we have to counter it by spending more money by diverting our resources from development."

SEA-SKIMMING MISSILE

Mr Gandhi said the bulk of the arms Pakistan received were not of the type that could be used against Afghanistan. He referred to the sea-skimming missile which, he said, could not be used in mountains.

"We are keen not to embark on

any arms race with Pakistan and our objective is reduction of arms in the region," the Prime Minister was quoted by the chief spokesman, Mr H. Y. Sharda Prasad, as saying.

The topics which came up for discussion included Afghanistan, Pakistan, Lebanon and disarmament.

AFGHANISTAN

President Reagan was stated to have brought up the question of Soviet presence in Afghanistan during the private meeting he had with Mr Gandhi.

The Prime Minister's spokesman said senior officials of the two countries might have further discussions on Afghanistan. But it was not clear whether the discussion would take place during Mr Gandhi's visit or later. The proposed consultations would aim at increasing mutual understanding.

Mr Gandhi told the American leaders that the non-proliferation treaty was basically discriminatory. If this lacuna was removed, then India could consider the treaty.

Mr Gandhi referred to America's initiatives in Lebanon and West Asia, and reiterated that it was necessary for all concerned to be involved in the discussions to promote peace in the region.

DISARMAMENT

He hoped the disarmament talks between the two super powers would lead to arms limitation, especially as the range and scope of the arms race had assumed alarming proportions.

The Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, informed the Prime Minister that the USA had made inquiries about Pakistan's nuclear programme and had found it to be well below what was necessary to manufacture nuclear weapons.

Mr Gandhi apprised the U.S. leaders of his talks with the Sri Lankan President, Mr J. R. Jayewardene, on the ethnic crisis.

TAMIL PROBLEM

He indicated that after his return to New Delhi there would be more intensive discussions on the Tamil problem in Sri Lanka. He hoped that this issue would soon be resolved.

Mr Reagan referred to the problem of terrorism in different parts of the world. He suggested that it be countered with the cooperation of all countries. He hoped India and the USA would cooperate in tackling terrorism.

Referring to bilateral matters, Mr Gandhi said there were many areas in which the two countries could cooperate.

Mr Gandhi welcomed the memorandum of understanding reached between the two countries on transfer of high technology.

India firmly opposed to NPT

By H. K. Dua

NEW DELHI, June 12

NOT only the Prime Minister has denied a shift in Indian policy on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, but the Indian Government has also made it plain to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) that New Delhi continues to be opposed to signing the NPT.

This is evident from the speech the Indian representative Mr. S. K. Singh delivered today at the meeting of the IAEA board of governors in Vienna.

Mr. S. K. Singh's speech was approved at high levels before the Prime Minister left on his current foreign tour. Apparently it was decided to reiterate the Indian position at the IAEA board of governors' meeting.

The Prime Minister's reported statement in Paris suggested that India was ready to sign the NPT if Pakistan did not possess nuclear arms, even though New Delhi considered the treaty unjust to those nations which had chosen not to develop nuclear weapons.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's reported remarks created considerable confusion which was sought to be cleared by the subsequent denial he came out with before he left Paris three days ago. Mr. S. K. Singh's speech at the IAEA makes it further clear that there is no change in the Indian stand on the NPT which was evolved decades ago.

Mr. Singh has referred to the pleas India has received from some friends (he has not named these) suggesting that India should accede to the non-proliferation treaty. He said India had considered the issue in depth.

Mr. Singh told IAEA that when NPT was being negotiated, India had proposed the inclusion into the text of

a clause or article providing for complete stoppage, by nuclear weapon states, of their production of nuclear weapons, and a cut-off in the production of fissionable materials for weapons purposes.

"If only this request of ours had been heeded then, and if only all of us had been enabled to negotiate an appropriate clause in this respect, international safeguards could perhaps have been extended to all nuclear facilities both in nuclear and non-nuclear weapon states," Mr. Singh said.

Acceptance of this clause would not have had the result of reducing nuclear arsenals. "However, such an acceptance would have frozen them at the level at which they existed on the date of agreement," Mr. Singh added.

"The nuclear weapon states did not appear to be willing even to discuss this minimal obligation. That they

were not prepared to think in these terms indicated to the rest of us that the treaty being proposed would be both discriminatory and ineffective. Between the time when the NPT was being negotiated, and the present day, the nuclear arsenals of the weapons states have risen so dangerously that if this matter has to be considered today, one might find it necessary to request nuclear weapons states to reduce their arsenals significantly."

In other words the Indian stand continues to be that the NPT discriminates between the nuclear "haves" and the "have-nots." And also that the NPT is ineffective unless the nuclear weapon powers take steps to reduce their nuclear arsenals.

Mr. Singh brushed aside the argument that India should sign the NPT

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simply because a large number of countries are today its signatories. The practical effect of these signatures in terms of safeguards is probably best demonstrated by the fact that 15 years after that treaty came into force, only 32 per cent of all power reactors in the world representing 32 per cent of total world nuclear power generating capacity are subject to the NPT-type safeguards. And this does not include the vast quantities of nuclear material in facilities dedicated to the production of nuclear weapons in nuclear weapons states.

He said India's attitude to the NPT was based on its entire philosophy to the question of disarmament. "It would be a mistake to view this philosophy as a by-product of either any ambition, or any response to any power or country far away from us, or near us. It is for these reasons that India has never agreed to take a role in the review of a treaty to which we chose not to accede."

Negotiations on disarmament issues had not gathered momentum. Qualitative improvements have created weapons systems that are increasingly difficult to verify. Unless nuclear weapons states themselves agree to outlaw nuclear weapons, the objectives of the NPT cannot be fulfilled, Mr. Singh averred.

Mr. Singh was speaking of IAEA's annual report which deals with such issues as the third NPT review conference, the forthcoming UN conference for promotion of international cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy, uranium resources, prices, nuclear power and reactor technology, safeguards activity, waste management, nuclear fuel cycle, safety and power.

The basic thrust the IAEA, sought was to protect their own nuclear arsenals and utilise the discriminatory safeguards to the disadvantage of those nations which want to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes. Also there is in the Indian speech a criticism of the IAEA for not taking cognizance of the nuclear programme of South Africa and Israel.

Mr. Singh informed the IAEA that India's own programme for peaceful utilisation of nuclear energy is proceeding apace with the fast breeder test reactor at Kalpakkam approaching criticality this year and the second, entirely indigenous power reactor at Madras atomic power project also about to be commissioned

about the same time.

He criticised the functioning of the agency by voicing the complaint that in its zeal for blocking horizontal proliferation the IAEA has in effect tended to erect barriers to the spread of increasing technology even for peaceful purposes.

He criticised the thesis that the spread of nuclear power is bound to lead on to the proliferation of nuclear weapons unless full-scope safeguards are accepted. He said all five nuclear weapons states had used facilities dedicated solely to weapons production for reaching their status as wielders of nuclear weapons.

Each one, in its own time, tended to defer its own programme of nuclear energy production until reaching what the country concerned considered a credible level of nuclear armament capability for itself. "Thus it should be clear from history that nuclear power programme are not the preferred or even the simplest means to produce nuclear weaponry".

While the agency had been developing its thinking and operations in the context of safeguards work, the equipment for this category of work had also been becoming more and more sophisticated and expensive. The sources of supply of such equipment are in just a handful of countries. Apparently India wants the IAEA to help those who want to use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes.

He criticised the agency's attempt to clamp the safeguards restrictively. All safeguards agreements have to be based on the concept of sovereign volition. Insofar as the agency is an equal party to any safeguards agreement, it cannot be an impartial arbiter in certain matters. Equally the agency cannot be utilised by third parties or "other States", apparently the nuclear haves, to their satisfaction.

"The right thing for the work of the agency, in this context, has to be a better working atmosphere, mutual respect and mutual confidence between the agency and the sovereign member states," he said.

Gandhi Shifts Tone Over Nuclear Issue

Talks in U.S. Called Satisfactory Overall

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Foreign Service

NEW DELHI, June 18—Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, in a turnabout from statements he made before meeting President Reagan last week, expressed confidence today that the United States is trying to stop Pakistan from making an atomic bomb.

"I am fairly satisfied that the United States will do everything it can" to keep Pakistan from becoming a nuclear weapons power, Gandhi said after returning from a five-nation tour that included his first visit to the United States as India's prime minister.

His words and tone were far different from ones he used two weeks ago in a meeting here with U.S. reporters. At that time, he accused Washington of taking a "soft line" on Pakistan's nuclear program and indicated that India might be forced into an atomic weapons program of its own if its neighbor develops a bomb.

Talking to reporters at an airport ceremony today, Gandhi acknowledged that U.S. efforts may not be enough to keep Pakistan from developing atomic weapons.

The switch in tone provided a clear example of how far his U.S. visit had gone to smooth out, at least for the moment, the often strained relations between the world's two largest democracies.

Gandhi, 40, called his talks with the Reagan administration "very good" and challenged a reporter who said Gandhi "had admitted" that he liked President Reagan. "I don't have to 'admit' liking President Reagan," Gandhi said.

"On the basis of the exchanges we had," Gandhi said, "our points of view have come much closer on certain issues. Where there were differences, we discussed those openly." He said he was satisfied with the talks in all areas, even though India and the United States failed to reach agreement on some issues.

It was clear that Pakistan remains the major sticking point between Washington and New Delhi, and Gandhi reiterated today India's view that U.S. sales of high performance weapons to Islamabad forces India to divert funds needed for development into arms purchases.

Pakistan appeared clearly concerned that the success of the Gandhi visit to the United States could hurt Islamabad's relations with the Reagan administration.

The Pakistani news agency, Pakistan Press International, was reported here as speculating in a dispatch from Washington that a new series of U.S. arms sales to Pakistan is likely to be held up as a result of the success of Gandhi's meetings with Reagan administration officials. A five-year, \$1.6 billion arms credit program, including the sales of 40 F16 fighters, ends in 1986.

Gandhi said it was unlikely that India would enter into a major arms purchase agreements with the United States soon because New Delhi believed U.S. laws can stop delivery for political reasons.

MILITARY SALES

U.S. arms offer not turned down: PM

From G. K. Reddy

NEW DELHI, June 18.

The Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, said today that both the United States and France had assured him that they would do their best to prevent Pakistan from developing nuclear weapons.

But it did not mean that Pakistan was not going to make the bomb, since all its nuclear activity was aimed at acquiring this capability despite strong international opposition.

So Mr. Rajiv Gandhi stressed that India must remain vigilant, saying that "it is for us to assess and see what happens", implying that the country had to keep its options open although it had no intention of competing with Pakistan at present.

The Prime Minister, who looked immensely satisfied with the outcome of his 14-day foreign trip, dealt with a wide range of subjects—from U.S. offer of arms sales and transfer of high technology, Pakistan and Afghanistan, the international economic order and developmental assistance, and non-alignment and fight against terrorism—in the course of a chat with pressmen at the airport.

No differences with President: There was no trace of any resentment or even embarrassment on his face when Mr. Rajiv Gandhi was asked about his alleged differences with the President, Mr. Zail Singh, since he dismissed the loaded question with a perfunctory reply that there were no problems between them.

The U.S. law on arms sales, he said, had been changed to some extent, but it was not adequate enough to provide the minimum guarantees required for ensuring fulfilment of the obligations in all circumstances. He was indirectly referring to the continued U.S. policy of retaining the right to cancel such contracts at any time or applying retrospectively any new laws that might be enacted for regulating such transactions.

Still under consideration: In voicing these reservations, the Prime Minister took care to avoid the impression that India had turned down the U.S. offer of arms sales. He indicated that the offer was still under consideration although no specific arms deals as such were being contemplated at present. The two sides needed some time to look into the legal im-

plications and evolve agreed procedures for establishing an arms supply relationship in the prevailing political atmosphere.

The Prime Minister said India was not opposed *per se* to the U.S. supply of arms to Pakistan, although many of the highly sophisticated weapons systems that were being given could be used only against it. The main Indian objection to this U.S. policy was that the induction of these American arms into Pakistan compelled India to divert its scarce resources to the acquisition of a matching military capability to cope with the threat.

Afghan issue: Talking about Afghanistan, he said though India had not come forward with any initiative to resolve the issue, it had been fully supporting the U.N. moves to find a widely acceptable solution to it. During his talks with the American and Soviet leaders, he got the distinct impression that both super powers favoured an early settlement, despite their differing approaches to this problem.

The Prime Minister said he had "very good talks" with the U.S. leadership on many subjects and, though the two countries continued to differ on some developments, "our points of view have come much closer on certain issues". What was important in his opinion was that "where there were differences we discussed them openly" without any hesitation.

The whole purpose of these exchanges, he pointed out, was to see how India and the U.S. could establish better understanding and widen the areas of their cooperation without compromising the country's basic ideals and commitments as a non-aligned nation. He seemed quite satisfied that his visit to the U.S. had contributed to this shared interest in better relations.

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said many issues like international economic order, tariffs and trade and freer flow of international development assistance were discussed candidly with a view to reducing the differences and widening the areas of agreement. This was a continual effort that required periodic consultations through frequent contacts between the two Governments.

Convention broken: Almost the entire press conference was devoted to his foreign tour and very few questions were asked about the domestic situation. But a notable point raised

by one of the correspondents related to the Prime Minister's relations with the President.

Asked why he had departed from the convention of calling on the President at regular intervals, especially before he proceeded on a foreign trip or after he returned from such visits, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi said good-humouredly that he had "broken convention" in many ways. He, however, hastened to add that he did have talks with the President as and when necessary on various issues, while stressing that there were no problems between them.

PTI reports: Asked whether Pakistan had protested against his criticism of that country on a foreign soil, the Prime Minister said he was not aware of any such criticism.

The Prime Minister was asked a number of questions on the new turn in Indo-U.S. relations and its possible impact on Indo-Soviet ties. He expressed the confidence that "our relations with the two super powers will continue to be more than cordial while maintaining our non-aligned position".

"Ours is the policy of non-alignment and not that of equidistance", he retorted when a correspondent used the phrase "equidistance" and said "if you people don't know this, how will you make others know about it".

Asked to spell out the areas in which he was not satisfied with the outcome of his talks with the U.S. President, Mr. Reagan, Mr. Gandhi said there was none but clarified that this did not mean there was understanding with the U.S. on each and every issue. For instance he discussed the new international economic order with Mr. Reagan but they could not reach any conclusion.

Charge denied: The Prime Minister denied a charge that he had taken up with Mr. Reagan the case of the release of Mr. Adil Shaharyar son of Mr. Mohd. Yunus, from the U.S. prison.

"He (Mr. Shaharyar) felt that he had been unfairly convicted and took up the issue long back with the U.S. Government which in turn confirmed his feeling. I have not spoken to anyone about him", Mr. Gandhi said.

The Prime Minister observed that generally India pleaded the case of its citizens outside the country. But the case of Mr. Shaharyar was different and he himself had taken up the issue

U.S. to Offer Advanced Arms, Technology to India

By Michael Weisskopf
and Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writers

The Reagan administration has decided to provide advanced military technology and weaponry to India in an effort to end a 20-year hiatus in large-scale U.S. military sales to the world's largest democracy.

The new policy, which is conditional on Indian acceptance of strict safeguards, became known as President Reagan and Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi held a "get-acquainted meeting" at the White House yesterday under very heavy security.

Defense officials said the administration decision to supply advanced military technology and weaponry goes beyond the agreement on the supply of civilian technology signed by the two nations last month. Currently, India obtains nearly all its imported weapons from the Soviet Union.

Reagan warmly welcomed the new Indian leader on the White House south lawn during distant but audible protests from about 1,500 members of the U.S. community of Sikhs, an important Indian minority. Gandhi became prime minister when his mother, Indira, who ordered an Indian army assault on the Sikh's Golden Temple in Amritsar last June 6, was assassinated by Sikh bodyguards Oct. 31.

Gandhi and Indian Defense Minister Narasimha Rao are expected to discuss military technology at

See GANDHI, A6, Col. 1

■ Celebrating "the year of India" at state dinner for Gandhi. Page D1

meetings Friday with Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger and Gen. John W. Vessey Jr., chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, according to the officials. U.S. officials said India expressed interest last month in obtaining sophisticated U.S. military technology for advanced surveillance and fighter aircraft, air defense and antisubmarine weapons and electronic warfare equipment, among other things.

The administration has decided in principle that it is willing to sell the Indians advanced technology and equipment, but has not yet passed judgment on any specific weapon or system.

The United States will insist on Indian acceptance of tight safeguards to prevent leakage of American defense secrets to the Soviet Union or other third parties, officials said.



The president greets Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi at the White House.

BY FRANK JOHNSTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

GANDHI, From A1

Strict U.S. conditions on Indian use of U.S.-supplied nuclear fuel resulted in a breakdown of bilateral nuclear relations, and other U.S. conditions led to the failure of negotiations in the 1980s on the sale of U.S. missiles, howitzers and machine guns.

Large-scale U.S. arms sales to India ended at the outbreak of the India-Pakistan war of 1965. An intermittent U.S. embargo on such sales to India and inability to agree on terms when sales were permitted has curbed arms relations between the two countries.

In his talks with Reagan, Gandhi raised India's objections to the U.S. supplying of weapons to Pakistan under a six-year, \$3.2 billion program. Reagan replied, according to a White House account, that the arms to Pakistan were intended to



BY RICH LIPSKI—THE WASHINGTON POST

Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi speaking as President Reagan looks on.

protect it against threats arising from Afghanistan and to let it assure its security without turning to nuclear weapons.

Gandhi told reporters later he was "not fully convinced." He said he had told Reagan "we would find it difficult to believe that all the equipment that is being given to Pakistan would be used on the Afghan border, especially if it is naval, is sea-skimming missiles and other equipment not suitable for hill areas."

Afghanistan is a landlocked and

mountainous country. U.S. officials said surface-to-surface Harpoon missiles, the only major naval weapons being supplied to Pakistan, were justified by Pakistan's need to upgrade its navy along with other parts of its armed forces.

Afghanistan and Pakistan were among the topics discussed by Reagan and Gandhi in a 30-minute Oval Office meeting without advisers present, the White House said.

The Reagan administration is seeking to persuade Gandhi to intercede with the Soviet Union

about its policies in Afghanistan. An attempt to do so by Indira Gandhi was rebuffed in Moscow several years ago, after which India became reluctant to do more, officials said. The attitude of her son is not entirely clear, the sources said.

The U.S. interest in a possible political settlement in Afghanistan is particularly high right now. Officials of the State Department and the Soviet Foreign Ministry are expected to hold talks on Afghanistan in Washington next week.

Pentagon officials said Indian interest in U.S. military technology results from prodding by the Indian military, which is pushing for a self-sufficient defense and views U.S. technology as the best form of assistance.

India's interest in U.S. military know-how has divided the Pentagon, with some officials viewing it as a chance to wean New Delhi from Moscow and others fearing that American defense secrets would slip to Moscow.

Undersecretary of Defense Fred C. Ikle visited New Delhi in May, giving momentum to the discussions. Ikle was handed a list of Indian requests for sophisticated technology and was taken to the nation's defense science center in Bangalore, where officials exhibited security precautions that included armed guards, fences and compartmentalization of sensitive materials, according to officials.

Weinberger decided after Ikle's return to Washington that the sensitive items sought by New Delhi could be considered on a case-by-case basis if the Indians signed an agreement to safeguard U.S. technology by adopting special security clearance procedures and maintaining physical security of defense installations, officials said.

Specific technology requests would have to be cleared by an interagency panel that includes representatives from the State Department and the National Security Council.

U.S. arms technology for India

From WARREN UNNA

WASHINGTON, June 13.—The Reagan Administration has decided to provide India with advanced military technology and perhaps some weaponry too, after considering requests on a case-by-case basis and gaining approval from an inter-agency U.S. Government panel, the Washington Post reported today.

Elsewhere, it was learned that India's Defence Minister, Narasimha Rao, a last-minute inclusion in Prime Minister Gandhi's entourage here, had quietly slipped into Washington on Monday, a day preceding Mr Gandhi's own arrival, in order to confer at the Pentagon with the U.S. Secretary of Defence, Caspar Weinberger, and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Gen John Vessey.

Weinberger will be conferring tomorrow with both the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister in a private session at the Indian Embassy.

According to the Washington Post account, India last month told the U.S. Under-Secretary of Defence for Policy Planning, Fred

Ikle, during that official's visit to India, that it was interested in acquiring sophisticated U.S. military technology for advanced surveillance and fighter aircraft, air defence, anti-submarine weapons, and electronic warfare equipment.

(In his toast at last night's White House banquet, Prime Minister Gandhi declared: "We must necessarily acquire the most advanced knowledge wherever it is generated. The United States is pre-eminently the land of high technology".

Ikle, who publicly was unexpectedly friendly towards India's interests during his visit, apparently also was impressed with India's protective security measures for such secret technology during an inspection trip he made to the defence science centre in Bangalore.

Until now, the U.S. Pentagon has had a strong faction very much opposed to furnishing India with any meaningful military material or technology on the assumption that this then might be obtained by the Soviet Union.

ARMS RACE

UNI adds: Mr Rajiv Gandhi declar-

ed yesterday that India was striving to bring about a reduction in the arms race and said he believed the USA was also interested in pursuing the same goal.

"Mankind faces the greatest threat from a nuclear holocaust", he told a luncheon in his honour by the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz here.

The Prime Minister said an effort to curb the arms race was important not only for the nuclear weapons States but also "for those who do not have nuclear weapons and face this threat at someone else's hand". The efforts should be total and immediate.

Dwelling on the world economic scene, Mr Gandhi said protectionist policies of the industrialized countries often ran against the interests of developing countries.

He said the Punjab problem could be solved and the Government had made a headway. The Government was "ever willing" to talk to the Akali Dal on the political plane but would deal "very firmly" with extremists and terrorists.

Mr Shultz had an 80-minute meeting yesterday with Mr Gandhi. The talks were described by Mr Shultz as "excellent".

The Foreign Secretary, Mr Ramesh Bhandari, said the two exchanged views on how they could further collaborate in promoting regional cooperation and stability.

Trip to US not for buying arms, says PM

From Our Correspondent

New Delhi, June 5: The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, today made it clear that he was not going to the United States with the specific intention of buying arms, but to make a "basic attempt" to improve understanding between the two countries. Speaking to newsmen at Palam airport here before leaving for Cairo, on the first leg of his fortnight-long five-nation tour, Mr Gandhi added: "With better understanding, everything else will follow."

The Prime Minister, his wife, Sonia and his two children, Rahul and Priyanka, were given a warm send-off by members of the Union Cabinet, several chief ministers and governors, the Lok Sabha Speaker, Mr Balram Jakhar, the three service chiefs, top Central officials and members of the diplomatic corps.

Asked at the airport press conference if a memorandum of understanding on defence matters was contemplated during the Washington visit, Mr Gandhi said: "We have not discussed that yet. We are at the moment discussing the import of computers under the (agreement) on transfer of high technology signed last month."

On whether he would make any special effort to bring the US and the Soviet Union closer in working out an amicable solution to the Afghanistan crisis, Mr Gandhi only said: "I am sure we will discuss Afghanistan when we are in the United States." He

said he expected to discuss with American leaders, issues like disarmament, developments in the region and various areas of tension, including Afghanistan and the Indian Ocean.

Denying that his recent visit to Moscow was "necessitated" by the trip that he had decided to undertake to the US, the Prime Minister reiterated that he had responded to a Soviet invitation. As for the US visit, "it was an old engagement of Indiraji's. She was committed to go and inaugurate the Festival of India in the US," he said.

Asked what issues he would discuss with the French President, Mr Francois Mitterrand, Mr Gandhi explained the framework within which he viewed Indo-French relations.

"We are both reasonably independent countries, who speak their minds out on various issues," he said. More specifically, Mr Gandhi said, his discussions with President Mitterrand would focus on world economic issues, disarmament and other international matters. Bilateral issues, such as trade and transfer of technology would also be taken up with both President Reagan and President Mitterrand, he said.

Asked whether he would express India's opposition to "star wars" when he met President Reagan, the Prime Minister said: "Any escalation in the arms race will affect India. Any reduction in the time between the launching of a weapon and

its striking the target adds to the tension. Star Wars will add to this tension."

Accompanying the Prime Minister and his family on board the special Air-India jet "Annapurna," were the minister of state for external affairs, Mr Khurshed Alam Khan, the foreign secretary, Mr Romesh Bhandari, the Prime Minister's information adviser, Mr H.Y. Sharada Prasad, and Mr C.R. Ghare Khan, Mr M.S. Ahluwalia and Mr Mani Shankar Iyer, joint secretaries to the Prime Minister. The delegation will be joined by the defence minister, Mr P.V. Narasimha Rao, in Paris, and by the chairman of the policy planning committee of the external affairs ministry, Mr G. Parthasarathy, in Washington.

U.S. and India Doubtful on Any Arms Deal Soon

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 13 — Reagan Administration officials affirmed today that the United States was willing to sell arms to India, but did not expect any transactions soon in view of India's military ties to Moscow.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi in a meeting with reporters today seemed reluctant to enter into arms accords with the United States. He said that in the past the Americans had linked arms sales to foreign policy considerations and were not reliable suppliers.

The American officials said that, if India was interested, it might begin by starting discussions on purchasing cer-

tain advanced technology that could be used by the military. A technology agreement, signed in New Delhi last month, clears the way for such sales, the officials said.

India Has Large Defense Industry

India, which has one of the largest military establishments among the countries professing nonalignment, has been relying on the Russians for modernizing its armed forces, but has also begun to diversify its purchases by ordering fighter planes from Britain and France. The United States, which has traditionally armed Pakistan, India's rival, has offered to consider arms sales on a case-by-case basis.

India also has a large military industry of its own, and wherever possible seeks to co-produce equipment obtained abroad, such as MIG fighter planes from the Soviet Union, American officials said.

Bernard Kalb, the State Department spokesman, said today:

"We expect that there will be some general discussions on arms sales but this is not a central issue in our talks. The Indians are not on a shopping visit and we are not pushing such sales."

He said the United States had been "willing to sell arms to India and in the past there have been some modest sales over the years."

"We are prepared for a more active arms relation, if the Indians so desire," he said.

Last month Fred C. Iklé, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, led a delegation to India to explore the possibility of allowing India to purchase advanced technology, such as computers, which would could be used for military as well as civilian purposes.

His visit was followed by one by Malcolm Baldrige, the Secretary of Commerce, who signed an agreement to allow the sale of the technology.

The Washington Post said today that the Administration had "decided to provide advanced military technology and weaponry" to India. But officials said there had been no new developments since Mr. Baldrige's visit.

Larry Speakes, the White House spokesman, said that the question of

arms and technology "had not been discussed with the Prime Minister or his Government inside the White House or at his other meetings to date."

Mr. Gandhi is to meet with Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger on Friday but no concrete actions are expected, a Pentagon official said.

No military angle to Rajiv's U.S. visit

From R. Chakrapani

WASHINGTON, May 10.

The U.S. Government will waive protocol regulations to accord a treatment befitting a head of State to the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, when he visits Washington in the second week of June.

Mr. Gandhi's is described as an official visit. The difference between an official and a state visit lies principally in certain courtesies shown to the visitor. For instance, the U.S. President, Mr. Ronald Reagan, will hold a banquet in honour of Mr. Gandhi at the White House on June 12, next day of his arrival. Earlier in the day, he will be received with full state honours on the White House lawns. Such courtesies are normally shown only to heads of state, but protocol regulations are relaxed for special categories of "V.I.P." official guests.

June 12 will be treated as "State day" and, probably, it will be the most important of Mr. Gandhi's four-day visit. After a White House welcome ceremony, Mr. Gandhi will have private talks with Mr. Reagan and followed by discussions with the President and his Cabinet team. Senior officials from both sides will also be present. Mr. Gandhi will then drive to the State Department for talks and luncheon with the Secretary of State, Mr. George P. Shultz. In the night, Mr. Reagan will hold the banquet.

Arrangements are also being made for Mr. Gandhi to meet Mrs. Nancy Reagan. Both are co-chairman of the Festival of India, which is to be formally declared open on June 13. Other meetings planned include those with leading Senators and Congressmen including those serving on the foreign affairs panels of the two Houses.

Visit plans being processed: The plans for Mr. Gandhi's visit are still being processed and both officials in the U.S. administration and the Indian Embassy are busy at work and remaining in close consultation with New Delhi. However, bits and pieces of information about the visit suggest that both the Governments are viewing the visit with considerable caution.

Contrary to reports in the western press in the wake of the U.S. Under Secretary of Def-

ence Policy, Mr. Fred C. Ikle's visit to India that a military relationship may blossom between New Delhi and Washington, informed administration sources are asserting that there is no military angle to Mr. Rajiv's trip and that no breakthrough in arms sales to India can be anticipated. What both sides seem to expect is a forward step in building a closer relationship between the two major democracies by promoting increased cooperation in non-political fields such as agriculture, economics and science and technology. The festival of India, which is to be held in Washington and 88 other American cities, is viewed as another cementing factor.

There will be frank discussions between Mr. Gandhi and the U.S. leaders on all international political issues, including the U.S. supply of sophisticated military hardware to Pakistan and Islamabad's quest for nuclear weapons. However, there is a strong mutual feeling that these differences should not be allowed to come in the way of developing cooperation in non-political areas. With this in mind, the engagements of Mr. Gandhi in Washington are being arranged in such a way as to include meetings with prominent American scientists, leading farmers including those successful in fruit farming, businessmen and potential investors and senior corporate executive officers.

Quite separately, Mr. Gandhi's callers will include prominent Cabinet members. The Vice President, Mr. George Bush, a potential future President, is planning to play host to Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Sonia Gandhi at Houston.

Gorbachev keen on PM's trip

MOSCOW, May 10.

The Soviet leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, on Thursday told Mr. V. P. Singh, Indian charge d'affaires that he was looking forward to the visit here of the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi.

At a Kremlin reception to foreign delegations attending the 40th Victory Day celebrations and the Moscow diplomatic corps, Mr. Gorbachev said the visit would provide the two an "opportunity to discuss bilateral, international and other matters."—PTI.

U.S. Arms For India

The United States has spelled out publicly one reason why it is willing to provide military equipment to India. It has said that this would help reduce India's dependence on the Soviet Union. This is a legitimate enough goal for Washington. Also implicit in U.S. official statements is the belief that the goal is now achievable. This is partly the result of their assessment of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and his broad approach but only partly. India under Mrs. Gandhi too had wanted to diversify its sources of military supplies and had shown interest in certain U.S. weapons. The talks then failed because the Reagan administration was not willing to agree to Indian terms. So if the issue has come up again, it follows that either the United States is now more forthcoming or that India has become less insistent on the transfer of technology, right of production and assurance of uninterrupted supplies. While it is not certain whether this particular obstacle has already been overcome, it will be reasonable to infer that the Americans no longer regard it as insuperable.

The Indian side has been more reticent. Perhaps it feels that it has no reason to make public statements. For, if it can buy mirages from France and Jaguars from Britain it owes no one any explanation for its move to acquire some items from the United States provided, of course, the terms are right. New Delhi has, indeed, never made a secret of its policy of avoiding excessive dependence on one source of supply. The Soviets cannot be expected to like the move. They have not been happy with India's purchases in France, Britain and West Germany and they are bound to be even more unhappy in this case. But while they will learn to live with it if only because they have no choice, it will be naive for us to believe that the United States is just another arms dealer. It is not. It delivers weapons in pursuit of certain strategic objectives. It does not always achieve its goals. The Indian set up certainly is in any case too sophisticated to subserve American ends. After all, despite two decades of military purchases from the Soviet Union, it has not served Soviet purposes whatever its critics in the United States and elsewhere might say. Even so, it is necessary to know what the U.S. strategic objectives are.

While it might be tempting to rush to the conclusion that the U.S. is wanting to supplant the Soviet Union and make India dependent on itself, we should resist it. American policy-makers must have a very poor opinion of their Indian counterparts, including Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, to believe that New Delhi can ever wish and agree to fall into such a trap. The Soviet Union is irreplaceable as a major source of military supplies for our country. Its equipment is much cheaper even if somewhat less sophisticated and no other country can possibly match its terms in respect of the interest rate, the period of repayment and the form of repayment. Americans should be

realistic enough to know that much. As far as we can see, the U.S. can only supplement Soviet supplies. It cannot replace them. In plain terms, Indo-Soviet friendship is given and will remain given even as Americans try to improve their own leverage in our country.

This formulation can lead itself to the misinterpretation that in our view Americans have to do all the running either because we are so well placed or because they have wronged us by arming Pakistan or both. Nothing can be more absurd than that. We are not all that well placed. The United States is our biggest trading partner; it can be a source of the latest technology which we need; the Soviet Union has fallen behind, some experts say by a decade in this field with some consequences for the kinds of weapons we need and it alone can supply. And Americans do not suffer from any guilt complex over even a most unjust and highly cruel war in Vietnam and Kampuchea for so many years. We need better understanding with the United States and should explore all possibilities. Only we must not yield to any kind of euphoria. The possibilities might well turn out to be limited.

India has not occupied a significant place in America's overall strategy, especially since 1971 when President Nixon initiated the process of rapprochement with China. Indeed, U.S. policy-makers downgraded Pakistan as well. But while Pakistan recovered its place in their scheme after the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979, India slipped even further down because Mrs. Gandhi was not prepared to join in a condemnation of the Soviet action. Since on the face of it the objective situation has not changed except that Mrs. Gandhi is no more, it is not possible to see the logic behind the U.S. willingness to sell arms to this country. That there is some logic must clearly be assumed though that logic is not yet clear. It may take us time to work out what it is. But work it out we have to. Meanwhile we have to proceed on the assumption that it would be some time before the overall U.S. strategy unravels itself.

OBSERVATIONS FROM PAKISTAN

The Pakistan factor in Indo-US relations

From M.J. Akbar

New Delhi, June 2: With the unique Rajiv Gandhi-Jayewardene goodwill visit to Dhaka, the pieces are now in place and Delhi has established its opening position for this fortnight's chess game with Washington. The knights of the Prime Minister's secretariat and the foreign ministry have organised a good opening gambit.

Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi will seek President Reagan's sympathy in four major areas of concern: the secessionist problem in Punjab and its sustenance from abroad; our need for sophisticated technology which only the West can provide and the credit for it; a better trade relationship; and Pakistan. The true measure of Mr Rajiv Gandhi's success will lie not in what he achieves in the first three areas, but on whether he can influence US perceptions on Pakistan.

There is, in fact, not much strain in the other aspects. The US has made it very clear that it has no sympathy for Sikh terrorists, and the FBI exposure of the plot to kill the Prime Minister is proof of policy. Washington will give all the assurances possible, barring those that interfere with the fundamental right in the US to demonstrate (which is why no one will stop Sikhs from protesting in Lafayette Park during the Prime Minister's visit).

As far as the technology aspect is concerned, the US has already said that it is ready to offer technology. With a little

persuasion, the financing could also be obtained either directly or from US-controlled institutions. Nor is Washington so immature as to expect that Delhi will make any dramatic change in its relations with Moscow.

Even arms are now officially available from the West, but with Moscow guaranteeing the Indian castles, guns are not a high priority subject. Arms to India are a peripheral issue at the moment. It is arms to Pakistan that is the key factor, particularly now that they seem to have acquired a nuclear edge. Mr Gandhi's central concern will be to curb this flow of arms to Pakistan (under the excuse of the Soviet presence in Afghanis-

tan), and convince President Reagan that the implicit support the US provides to Pakistan's nuclear ambitions will create an unprecedented danger in South Asia. If the US attitude to this crucial threat changes, Mr Gandhi will have achieved a diplomatic coup.

So far, New Delhi's credibility in Washington has been considerably lower than Islamabad's. Our neighbours have successfully managed to convince the US that an India ruled by the Nehru-Gandhi family seeks hegemony on the subcontinent, and will go to any length—including war and destabilisation—to achieve it. Memories of 1971 have not disappeared, and

the Morarji Desai period is recalled as what might be possible without an "imperialist" sitting on Delhi's throne. Every neighbour of India—Nepal, Bangladesh or Sri Lanka—has reinforced this image by contributing to the notion of India as a big brother unable to respect its neighbours as equals. They feel if Mr Gandhi wants to achieve anything in the US, he will have to change this perception.

The strenuous efforts to create a new relationship in the subcontinent (Mr Romesh Bhandari's talks et al) have to be seen in this context. Sri Lanka was a prickly situation, and a few remarks made in Delhi created a minor crisis when President

Jayewardene pulled out of the Sarc talks at Thimphu rather than deal with a "bully" called India. Not only did Mr Gandhi soothe President Jayewardene with a conciliatory telephone call, but even succeeded in persuading him to visit Delhi. (Till the last moment, President Jayewardene kept suggesting a midway point between Colombo and Delhi for a meeting). The gesture towards Bangladesh (a good friend of the US) and the joint visit to Dhaka is the latest, and most dramatic, in a series of gestures being made by Delhi to tell the world that it wants a new relationship in South Asia.

But the most brilliant aspect of this has been the isolation of

Pakistan, which has always attempted to build a coalition of the neighbours against India. If Delhi can get the cooperation of Colombo, Dhaka and Kathmandu in its campaign against a nuclear Pakistan, Washington will be forced to listen.

The Nehrus may have charmed the world, from Mountbatten to Krushchev to Nasser to Brezhnev to Gorbachyov, but they have never been favourites in the US. Jawaharlal Nehru is alleged to have bored John Kennedy, and Kissinger called the Indira Gandhi-Nixon meeting the worst disaster in Mr Nixon's foreign policy. The Reagan-Indira talks were better, but not very substantive. If Mr Gandhi can keep President Reagan awake (not the easiest of tasks) and responsive, he will have achieved more than his mother and his illustrious grandfather.

NAWA-E WAQT on U.S. Aid, Gandhi Trip to U.S.
GF021032 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 30 May 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Rajiv Gandhi's Vendetta Against Pakistan"]

[Excerpts] Indian Premier Mr Rajiv Gandhi's answers to the U.S. magazine *NEWSWEEK* are brimming with lies and exaggeration as well as accusations. It is easy to see that when he visits the United States next year his objective will be opposition to Pakistan at all costs. This interview was granted before he visited the Soviet Union; according to press reports he has been saying a lot against Pakistan there as well.

This interview reveals that despite his softspoken attitude he is even more afflicted than his mother by the anti-Pakistan hysteria. This spewing of venom is expected to climax during his upcoming trip to the United States. In his interview, Mr Rajiv Gandhi stated that the major hurdle to Indo-Pakistani relations is Pakistan's nuclear program. According to him, Pakistan is on the verge of making a nuclear bomb and the United States is not doing anything to stop it. Obviously, the Zionist lobby is going to play this up immensely and the Indian prime minister is going to repeat this everywhere, even though everyone is aware that this is not true.

In 1976, the United States began its opposition to Pakistan's limited nuclear program and even forced France to renege on its agreement to provide a reprocessing plant to Pakistan. The United States continued to provide India with enriched nuclear fuel and technical expertise until 1982.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi is capitalizing on the U.S. and other Western countries' attitude of opposition for the sake of opposition against Pakistan's nuclear program, but whether or not the world acknowledges it, the world knows that India is very near to making a nuclear bomb. In fact, it has already made it in secret, like Israel, and has adopted the policy of "the thief shouts 'stop thief!'"

The same applies to the Indian premier's policy of saying that the arms Pakistan receives from the United States far exceed its needs even though they are being given to Pakistan due to the

conditions created by the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. He says they will not be used against the Soviet Union or Afghanistan but against India. The Indian rulers' line of propaganda is an old one and is invariably blown up by the Zionist lobby which is opposed to Pakistan and other Islamic countries. The fact is that the arms purchased by Pakistan in the past 5 years to the tune of \$1500 million are not even 1/10 or rather 1/20 of the armaments that India has amassed from France, Great Britain, and FPG, and with Soviet assistance.

The sale of F-16s by the United States on a limited scale has made Pakistan at least slightly capable of defending itself or retaliating in the event of aggression or an attack. This also was a sore point with the late Mrs Gandhi. Now Mr Gandhi is carrying on the tradition that whenever possible, the litany of U.S. aid to Pakistan should be continued in order to keep Pakistan tense. The United States will not be able to ignore India's plaintive cries and opposition when giving arms to Pakistan. This attitude appears to the people of Pakistan to be very childish and unrealistic and reflects on India's "hysteria for a useful end" policy.

In his *NEWSWEEK* interview the Indian prime minister spoke on the angry, militant Sikhs. He claimed that Pakistan is aiding them. This, he says, is on the basis of strong evidence; this "strong evidence" is that certain Pakistani officials have had some sort of acquaintance with a few Sikhs.

Mr Rajiv Gandhi's basic purpose is to weaken Pakistan and to see that it remains that way. Pakistan's defense capability has been helped slightly by U.S. arms aid. This is an eyesore for India. Pakistani-U.S. relations are an important issue as far as Rajiv Gandhi is concerned. Mr Gandhi is also aware that the United States has a soft spot for India and that Washington is always prepared to woo New Delhi, whatever the price. The United States is starstruck by India's culture and the charisma of Nehru and Gandhi. Hence, Rajiv Gandhi will be accorded a warm welcome there. India, however, leans towards the Soviet Union, and its leaders think that only the Soviet Union can really provide it with assistance, as this has been the case in the past. This will make India a minipower, if not a superpower, which is the reason why Rajiv Gandhi adopted the same tone his mother had adopted earlier on Afghanistan, that is, instead of denouncing aggression and expansion, he resorted to apologising for it, just like his mother.

Despite this tilt toward the Soviet Union, Rajiv Gandhi will be warmly welcomed and vistas will be explored for mutual cooperation. This is something which naturally is a source of anxiety and apprehension for Pakistan.

Rajiv's visit to USA raises dust in Pak

NEW DELHI, June 2 (U.N.I.) — Mr Rajiv Gandhi's coming visit to the U.S.A. has become a subject of much speculation in Pakistan, where a section of scholars and writers believes it will have an impact on Pakistan-U.S. relations.

Ever since Mr Gandhi became Prime Minister there has been talk in Pakistan that the U.S.A. will now try to cultivate India.

Pakistan's Ambassador to Washington, Lieut-Gen Aijaz Azim (retired), was recently told by Urdu daily Nawa-i-Waqt during his visit to Pakistan that it was feared that the U.S.A. would change the quality of its friendship with Pakistan to please India.

The Ambassador's response was: The U.S.A. is certainly giving special importance to the coming visit of the Indian Prime Minister. It is believed there that after Mrs Indira Gandhi's death a new era has started in India. The U.S.A. thinks that after the visit the Soviet influence on India will decrease. So much so, it is believed there that this will lead to stability in the whole of South Asia and Indo-Pakistan relations will improve. But as far as Pakistan is concerned, it has its own importance in this region. This importance will not be reduced by Mr Gandhi's visit.

That the Pakistanis get upset by

any cooperation between India and the U.S.A. was shown by a recent editorial in the Muslim, a newspaper published in Islamabad.

The paper bitterly commented on the reports of an Indo-U.S. agreement which would permit India to acquire highly advanced technology.

Under the heading "The American duality", the paper wrote that the U.S.A. "claims to be a friend and an ally of Pakistan and its assistance and aid has been projected as necessary and vital for this country's economic development and security. Notwithstanding

U.S. flirtations with India which has never accepted the American perception of friendship and has always asserted its right to pursue an independent foreign policy, often taking anti-U.S. stances, the Americans have never been so considerate and generous to Pakistan".

The paper lamented that Pakistan had become a "frontline" State in the region in order to serve U.S. global interests but the contribution of these to Pakistan's economic and defence requirements had never gone beyond a relationship of perpetual dependence for arms and technology.

Rajiv Gandhi's 'apparent success' abroad worries Pakistan

Rita Manchanda gives a resume of the reactions in Pakistan to the US visit of the Indian Prime Minister

The Pakistani ambassador, Mr Humayun Khan, called on the foreign secretary, Mr Romesh Bhandari, last week to protest against the Prime Minister Mr Rajiv Gandhi's "regrettable" statement during his appearance before the National Press Club in Washington that the capital of the only Sikh kingdom in history, that of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was in Lahore. Mr Khan also reiterated his government's displeasure at the obsessive focus on Pakistan's peaceful nuclear programme during Mr Gandhi's foreign tour.

Speaking about the reference to Lahore Mr Bhandari is understood to have pointed out that it was a Pakistani journalist who had provocatively helped Ganga Singh Dhillon, a protagonist of Khalistan, to secure an invitation to speak at the Washington Press Club meeting during the Prime Minister's visit.

India has taken note of the protest which has not, however, come in the way of the two countries going ahead with the scheduled second meeting of the Indo-Pakistan joint commission in New Delhi this week. The meeting had been postponed by India last August to protest against public statements and media reports in Pakistan on the happenings in Punjab.

Mr Khan's formal complaint

follows statements by the Pakistani minister of state for foreign affairs, Mr Zain Noorani, accusing Mr Gandhi of seeking to drive a wedge between the US and Pakistan. The Pakistani press had also vociferously condemned the Prime Minister's "Pakistan bashing" during his foreign tour.

The "apparent success" of Mr Gandhi's visit to the Soviet Union and the US, said the Islamabad daily *Muslim*, has not only bolstered New Delhi's confidence, but has also given rise to serious doubts regarding the continuity of the US-Pakistan arms relationship.

Foreign ministry circles in New Delhi, evaluating the Prime Minister's US visit, feel there has been a reassessment of US thinking about South Asia. They are confident that India will occupy a pivotal role in US policy in the area, which would mean a reconsideration of US commitment to Pakistan as a frontline state, insofar as it hurts Indian interests.

In Pakistan Mr Agha Shahi, former foreign minister, assessed the fallout of Mr Gandhi's US visit in similar terms: "Even the Republicans...make no secret of their predilection for India and antipathy towards Pakistan on account of its nuclear activity, its Islamic vocation, its geopolitical compulsions for friendly relations with Iran and its sympathy for

the Arabs.... There are also reports that in certain influential quarters it is considered that Pakistan would be well advised to come to terms with India on India's terms before long because strategic compulsions would propel the US and India towards a closer relationship."

What would save Pakistan from the feared isolation of a Taiwan, abandoned by the US for China, was the fact that Pakistan's importance "cannot be reduced by reason of the immensely strategic and vital economic importance of the Persian Gulf region. Such misperceptions on the part of US strategic thinkers are not without an impact on US policy towards South Asia to the detriment of Pakistan's interests."

Mr Agha Shahi expressed serious concern that Indo-US relations in future might affect Islamabad's arms ties with Washington: "By reason of the Rajiv factor, this (the US-Pakistan arms relation) has become denuded of all real sig-

nificance for Pakistan's defence and security." Mr Shahi was particularly concerned over Mr Gandhi's objective of seeking the "security isolation" of Pakistan during his tour.

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APPRAISALS OF THE VISIT

A NEW RESPECT

BOTH India and the United States have reason to be pleased with the outcome of Mr Rajiv Gandhi's visit to America. The talks were characterised by candour and understanding and if the two sides agreed to disagree on various issues such as US arms to Pakistan, Islamabad's nuclear drive, Afghanistan and President Reagan's "star wars" programme, trust and cordiality were not a casualty. The President and the Prime Minister hit it off well and the Americans were gratified that Mr Gandhi betrayed little rancour or suspicion despite a candid assertion of divergent views on certain matters. Mutual respect has been heightened and more important, the area of understanding enlarged, clearing the way for wider collaboration. Mr Gandhi said that what had been a love-hate relationship between the two countries has moved up the positive scale by some notches as a result of the encounter. As an image building exercise, the visit was an even greater success and Mr Gandhi has gone down well with the American media as a poised, articulate, level-headed leader who is tough-minded about his perceptions of national interest but is open and friendly at the same time. The personal and public rapport struck with the American leadership, Congress and people is a good basis for the growth of a more stable and mature relationship in the ensuing years. The US may not always agree with Mr Gandhi. But it understands him and the India he wants to build. The Festival of India will serve as a year-long celebration of America's discovery of a new India which it can hopefully partner in many ways.

The visit was not unproductive of agreements. There had been much preparatory effort. What came through strongly was a renewed US commitment to the unity and integrity of India and cooperation in combating "the international dimensions of terrorist violence" against the country. Despite a small demonstration by Punjabi militants on the first day, and Mr Ganga Singh Dhillon's effort to drum up some Khalistani sentiment, the visit passed without any untoward incident or the slightest diversion of focus. The agreements on scientific collaboration in the agricultural, medical and other fields and on the transfer of high technology through commercial channels, within the framework of the memorandum of understanding already entered into, are significant. In addition, the US is to share its experience in reducing pollution in large river systems and in promoting social forestry (in collaboration with the World Bank). An important gain was the assurances of strong support for multilateral assistance to India's development, juxtaposed against Mr Gandhi's reiteration of the continuing need for concessional finance to developing nations.

The United States sees Indo-American relations drawing closer through a swiftly modernising Indian economy along the high-technology route and private investment. Mr Gandhi was, however, quick to remind his American audience that in a country as poor as India, capitalist methods by themselves would be inadequate. He denied any radical change in economic thinking and said that nothing being done now was entirely new but an unfolding of earlier policies. He did, however, seek American assistance and investment. He referred to the presence of a large number of highly talented Indian professionals in the US as a "brain reserve" rather than a brain drain, and called on them to return home to help move the country forward. Altogether, the suggestion was that an environment was being created in which Indo-US cooperation might be promoted at many levels. The Americans are anxious to establish an arms supply relationship with India and various proposals and items have been tossed around over the past many months: F-20s, Howitzers, TOW-missiles, etc. but India has made it known that it regards the US an unreliable supplier in view of 1965 experience and that it is certainly unwilling to accept retrospective application of modifications and safeguards to contracts as a result of fresh US legislation from time to time.

Mr Gandhi spoke to Mr Reagan and his colleagues at length about his apprehensions about the supply of sophisticated arms to Pakistan which he felt could not be explained by the Afghan factor alone or on the basis of defensive requirements. He explained that such supplies compelled India to divert resources to take counter-measures. On the matter of its nuclear programme he said he could see no peaceful uses for the enriched uranium which Islamabad is producing. If then Pakistan developed an n-bomb India would have to react. On Afghanistan he asserted that external intervention (Soviet) and interference (American) must cease to facilitate the restoration of that country's independent, non-aligned status. If Afghanistan, Pakistan, the US and the USSR could move towards an understanding on this, then maybe India could try and take an initiative to advance matter.

If Mr Gandhi handled himself with aplomb remarkable for someone still so new to high office, he possibly overplayed the Pakistan card. While India's concern for its security cannot be challenged, it would be unrealistic to expect the US to go beyond a point in jeopardising its own relations with third countries in seeking to improve its ties with this country. It must be hoped that Indian diplomacy will turn equally vigorously to mending fences with Pakistan as undoubtedly the best way of diverting Islamabad from pursuing any vain nuclear ambitions or of fuelling an arms race on the sub-continent.

PM held India image high: CPI

Our Staff Correspondent

The CPI has complimented Mr Rajiv Gandhi for holding "high India's image" by forcefully projecting its foreign policy of anti-imperialism, peace, nonalignment and friendship with socialist countries".

Mr Gandhi's visits have had "a powerful impact" on the international situation and strengthened the movement for peace and unity of anti-imperialist forces. The CPI is happy that Mr Gandhi pledged full support to the people of Palestine and Namibia who are fighting for their freedom.

In a statement issued on Tuesday after the conclusion of the CPI's central executive committee meeting, the party has appreciated that Mr Gandhi during his US visit made it amply clear that India was opposed to the arms race, particularly the Reagan administration's "Star-Wars" programme and the militarisation of the Indian Ocean.

There has been a good response from the American public, including wide-sections of the intelligentsia and scientists, to this clear enunciation of India's anti-war stand.

The CPI is happy that Mr Gandhi pointed out to the US India's opposition to the supply of sophisticated weapons to Pakistan which forced India to divert huge amounts on defence preparedness. It also complimented Mr Gandhi for rejecting the US offer to supply arms to India with certain conditions.

The CPI said Mr Gandhi's US visit was a sharp contrast to his Soviet visit. His discussions with President Gorbachyov reaffirmed once again the similarity in the perception of the two countries on major contemporary

issues.

Highlighting the Rs 1,200 crore Soviet credit to India, the CPI has, however, warned that the full benefit of this easy loan can be obtained only if the "retrograde economic policies" contained in the budget were reversed.

The party has appealed to all democratic and anti-imperialist parties and forces to jointly enhance India's role in the world in the matter of safeguarding world peace, defending the security and integrity of the country and further strengthening India's ties with the Soviet Union, other socialist countries and the developing world.

TN Assembly's tributes: Our Staff Correspondent from Madras adds: The Tamilnadu Assembly today paid high tributes to Prime Minister for his successful two-week long foreign trip. A statement to this effect was made in the Assembly by Finance Minister and leader of the House V R Nedunchezian.

US and India: time to improve relations

By Ashim K. Basu

PRESIDENT Reagan's meeting with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi provides an opportunity to build a basis for mutual trust between the two leaders. Further, the Gandhi trip offers the American leader a rare opportunity to redefine US policy toward India.

This process of bridge building in Indo-US relations began with the visit of the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to the United States in June 1982.

The Reagan administration should be pleased with Rajiv Gandhi's innovative moves in foreign and domestic policies.

Rajiv Gandhi visited the Soviet Union late last month and publicly noted that India is against any country interfering in the affairs of another country. In addition, Mr. Gandhi did not show any interest in a Soviet proposal for an Asian security conference — an idea the Soviets have been lobbying since 1976.

India is eager to diversify the purchases of military weapons so that it can lessen its long dependence on the Soviet Union. The most recent developments in this shift are the purchase of 40 Mirage 2000 jet fighters from France and an interest in US military equipment.

On the economic front, Mr. Gandhi has concluded that economic growth lies in the private sector, rather than a government-regulated central economy. He has cut taxes for businesses and individuals and lifted controls on imports, private-sector expansion, licensing, plant capacity, and foreign investment.

These policy shifts are important signals to the Reagan administration that Mr. Gandhi is interested in upgrading Indo-US ties. Now it is Mr. Reagan's turn to show that he is equally ready and willing. The administration should follow through with these steps:

- US foreign-policy strategists have regarded India as a client state of the Soviet Union. Indians consider this judgment oversimplified. Indian leaders have consistently contended that India is neither pro-US nor pro-Soviet

but looks at issues on merit. The Reagan administration can improve relations at little cost by courting India on regional and global issues and by taking a less dogmatic view of Indian relations with the Soviet Union. This means consulting with and informing India about US interests in the region, recognizing and accepting India's role as the dominant power in the subcontinent, facilitating rapprochements between India, China, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka, promoting India as a model of democratic society to communists and authoritarian countries, and catering to India's national pride.

- The US should encourage Rajiv Gandhi's conciliatory hand to President Zia ul-Haq despite Pakistan's US-aided arms buildup and the threat of a Pakistani nuclear bomb. India is concerned that an unstable Pakistan would invite increased Soviet intervention in the region. President Reagan should assure Mr. Gandhi that Washington will avoid any action that would worsen Indo-Pakistan relations and thus increase the dangers of another war. A summit meeting between India and Pakistan to sign a nonaggression pact under the auspices of the President would go a long way to dispel Indian perceptions that the Reagan administration is particularly hostile to India.

- Significant areas of agreement exist between the US and India concerning the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. Both countries agree that a political solution is appropriate and that Soviet troops should be withdrawn. President Reagan should ask the prime minister to try to persuade the Russians to achieve a political settlement. Mr. Reagan should privately tell Mr. Gandhi of any concessions the US would make to provide a face-saving device for Soviet withdrawal. This would enhance Mr. Gandhi's stature as an international leader.

- An evenhanded arms policy toward the Indian subcontinent can take place only if the President takes two major steps. First, authorize arms sales to India under co-production agreements, and second, allow India to acquire advanced American technology that could vastly improve its military ability. India's interest in buying American military equipment includes Northrop FSG intermediate fighters, 155-mm howitzers, 50-caliber heavy machine guns, C-130 transport aircraft, and an improved version of two antitank missiles. By permitting these sales, President Reagan would give Mr. Gandhi a defense against his anti-American critics in the Parliament.

- President Reagan should assure Mr. Gandhi that the US will continue to take steps to curtail the activities of Sikh terrorists in the US. The Reagan administration should applaud Gandhi's efforts to take positive steps to restore a sense of confidence among the Sikhs at large.

- US reinforcements in the Indian Ocean are an irritant in relations between India and the US. India seeks a zone of peace free from the presence of external military



Rajiv Gandhi

TOM HUGHES

pressures. The US should clearly inform Mr. Gandhi that it is open to any proposal from India that does not place the US at a disadvantage and at the same time protects the security of friendly countries in the region.

Mr. Reagan needs to make plain that a unilateral reduction of US forces in the Indian Ocean would make the states in the region more vulnerable to Soviet pressure.

● President Reagan should assure Mr. Gandhi that the US will respond favorably to India's request for bilateral and multilateral concessional aid. This is particularly important, since Mr. Gandhi is interested in attracting investments from the US. Mr. Gandhi has taken steps to liberalize the economy and trade policies by cutting taxes and lifting controls on private-sector expansion, government regulation, and foreign investment. These changes are aimed at increasing savings, investments, and productivity in a free market to modernize India's economy. India's impressive scientific manpower coupled with diversified industrial infrastructure provides opportunities for American businessmen to invest in India, particularly in electronics, computers, telecommunications, power equipment, and high-technology products. The expanding Indian market can offer outlets for American equipment and consumer goods. Japanese automakers have already entered into joint ventures with Indian companies to manufacture cars in India for both domestic and foreign markets. Fuel-efficient cars are already rolling off the assembly line, and they are snapped up by the growing Indian middle-class consumers.

In the meantime, big US companies such as Honeywell, ITT, General Motors, Texas Instruments, and the Xerox Corporation are showing keen interest in investing in India. This can be expected to increase American investment, now some \$600 million.

The Reagan administration should be pleased with India's economic policies, since they are consistent with the President's own supply-side economics. Mr. Reagan should publicly credit Mr. Gandhi for his economic efforts. The President should also understand that Mr. Gandhi will continue to experiment with new economic policies so long as the administration pursues an open-door policy on Indian exports to the US — an important foreign-exchange earner. In the long run, the nature of US response toward trade and investment will determine the success of India's new economic policy.

In any case, President Reagan will find an activist, pragmatic, secure, and nonaligned Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, who is interested in achieving a more "centrist" position for India in the international order that includes friendly relations with the US and the Soviet Union as well as China. It will be up to Mr. Reagan to prove that the administration is equally interested in pursuing a long-term policy of consulting and informing India about any moves that affect the region, recognizing India's role as a nonaligned world power, accepting the hard fact that Pakistan's ultimate security depends on India, supporting India's request for multilateral aid and concessional aid, and catering to India's nationalism. If Mikhail Gorbachev can take the trouble to woo Mr. Gandhi, should Mr. Reagan be far behind?

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Rajiv Gandhi's 'Extravaganza'

What with one thing or another, the world's most populous democracy has only occasionally cut much of a figure in the American consciousness or in U.S. policy preoccupations. India is no threat and no part of our cultural heritage. It is South (as in North-South), poor and nonaligned. Any right-thinking cold warrior knows the proper focus has to be East-West in the real world, and that right-thinking nations, wherever they are, must choose sides.

For those reasons and more, the U.S.-India relationship has ranged more often than not from distant to downright hostile in the nearly 40 years since India's independence. In his memoirs, Henry Kissinger described the encounters in 1971 between Richard Nixon and Indira Gandhi as "the two most unfortunate meetings Nixon had with any foreign leader." When Mrs. Gandhi died at the hands of Sikh assassins last year, her

untested 40-year-old son Rajiv succeeded as prime minister. Only a few optimists thought anything good would come of it for U.S.-Indian relations.

So how do you explain last week's extravaganza: the young prime minister's acclaimed address to a congressional joint session; the star-studded state dinner, the president proclaiming this "the year of India," the gushing accounts of how well the two leaders had "hit it off" in their talks? To begin with, you wait for the oohs and aahs to subside. You then proceed carefully—bearing in mind the trendy and transitory impact of modern communications on American interests and concerns.

Even before the engaging young Gandhi burst upon this town, India had been looming increasingly large on our screens as entertainment ("Gandhi," "A Passage to India," "The Jewel in the Crown") and as tragedy: the mother's violent death, the Bhopal catastro-

phe. The "Festival of India" road show of Indian culture will be feeding the vogue. India is "in." That's a good thing; India is too big and too important to U.S. security to be as little known or cared about as it has been by most Americans.

The bad thing would be to proceed from heightened awareness of India to heightened expectations—to engage, that is, in the popular fancy that now, somehow, this newly discovered India can be "weaned away" from the Soviet Union. To insist on applying the East-West test to a developing relationship with the government of Rajiv Gandhi is to invite failure.

With his cool, collected charm and self-confidence, Gandhi made that point clear enough while he was here. India's long frontiers with the Soviet Union, China and Pakistan will determine his policy as it did his mother's and her father's. Nonalignment and noninterference in the internal affairs of sovereign states will be his creeds.

But if a sensible awareness of the limits imposed on India by geography is taken into account, it can rightly be said that last week's public and private exchanges between U.S. and Indian leaders did much to define some opportunities for easing strains.

Gandhi chose the congressional setting to express more active interest than he has in the past in ending the brutal Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the reestablishment of independence and "nonalignment" to that tormented land. U.S. diplomats applauded this "shift." What difference it will actually make hinges on Gandhi's willingness to work toward some way to ease the darkly distrustful state of relations between India and Pakistan.

It is one thing for Gandhi to talk of an effort to resolve the Afghan conflict. But his rule on nonintervention specifically extends to the role of Pakistan as a conduit for "covert" U.S. aid to the Afghan rebels—a role which puts Pakistan at considerable risk with the Soviet Union. Hence the rationale for U.S. military aid to Pakistan.

Gandhi professes to see neither the risk nor the rationale. That is to say, he is for settling the Afghanistan war but not for continuing the pressure on the Soviet Union that might provide some incentive for settlement.

Or so it sounds now. The question is whether the relationship struck up with the Reagan administration will clear the way for something constructive later on. Gandhi conveyed an interest in acquiring U.S. military technology, and may get some. He didn't push for U.S. arms. That's just as well, given the likely congressional and/or administration reception while he remains dependent for 70 percent of his weaponry on the Soviet Union.

But his interest in military high tech reflects a longer term Indian goal. By becoming increasingly its own arms supplier, India lightens its dependence on whatever outside sources.

You get the idea: the governments of two vastly different nations, making what appear to be honest efforts to work their way around their differences. Gandhi let it be known that he got what he wanted. He had arrived convinced that the nuts and bolts of aid and trade and even policy issues are of no relevance "without basic understanding." He left saying that's what was achieved, which is a lot more than could be said for the meeting his mother had with another American president in another time.

Indians See Better U.S. Ties After Gandhi Visit

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Foreign Service

NEW DELHI—Indians look forward to a new era of improved relations with the United States following what was seen here as a highly successful U.S. visit by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi.

But the recently retired Indian foreign secretary, Maharaj Krishna Rasgotra, cautioned against putting too much emphasis on possible arms sales that would attempt to wean India from its military supply relationship with the Soviet Union.

He said Gandhi is unlikely to enter into large-scale arms purchases that would jeopardize New Delhi's relationship with Moscow, which is "important because the Soviet Union is an Asian power" that shares long borders with neighbors of India such as China, Iran and Afghanistan.

Rasgotra and other commentators here said Washington's arms supply relationship with Pakistan remains a major irritant between the United States and India. Gandhi, during a visit that ended Saturday, focused in his talks with the Reagan administration on what his country sees as the danger to it from a Pakistan armed with sophisticated U.S. weapons.

Even with the Pakistani cloud hanging over improved U.S.-Indian relations, Rasgotra—who laid the groundwork for the meeting between Reagan and Gandhi—in office seven months following the Oct. 31 assassination of his mother, Indira Gandhi—concluded that "the visit has gone well."

Almost every event of the Gandhi trip was seen live and in color on Indian television, the first time such broad coverage of a prime minister's visit to the United States has

been available here. In addition, the leading newspapers each carried four to five daily stories on the Gandhi trip, including articles on how the U.S. press treated the prime minister.

The papers have not yet made any editorial comments on the impact of the meeting between the leaders of the world's two largest democracies, which have carried on a love-hate relationship with each other for most of the past 25 years.

Rasgotra said Gandhi was attempting to head off a new round of U.S. arms sales to Pakistan following completion of the current Reagan administration commitment of \$1.6 billion in credits for American weapons, including 40 F16 fighters partly paid for by Saudi Arabia. "A bigger package is bound to come," he said. India and Pakistan have fought three wars since they gained independence in 1947.

India is especially concerned that Pakistan might be able to buy the E2 Hawkeye airborne early-warning radar surveillance plane, which was used by Israel three years ago to control its jet fighters in their attack on Soviet-made Syrian MiGs. The Israelis shot down 75 MiGs in one day with help of the Hawkeye, Pentagon officials visiting here last month said.

According to U.S. and Indian sources, the Reagan administration told New Delhi that the best way to keep Hawkeyes out of Pakistan's hands is to persuade Moscow to ease its troops' pressure on the Pakistani-Afghan border and to stop its jets from attacking Pakistani border villages.

Gandhi, in a meeting with U.S. reporters here before his trip, blamed U.S. aid to Pakistan-based

Afghan resistance fighters for much of the tension. Pakistan, reacting to Gandhi's attack on its arms relationship with the United States, accused India of trying "to drive a wedge" between it and Washington.

Rasgotra said the seeds for better relations between the United States and India are likely to come from an agreement allowing the

sale to this country of U.S. high technology, including sophisticated computers Gandhi wants to upgrade the Indian economy. The Indians assured Reagan administration officials, including Undersecretary of Defense Fred Ikle, that they would not allow that technology, which has potential military uses, to slip into Soviet hands.

The Pentagon, moreover, sees that agreement as a way to sell India the technology to build its own high-performance weapons, thus reducing its dependence on the Soviet Union. During a visit here two weeks ago, for example, Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) and Assistant Undersecretary of Defense Michael E. Pillsbury brought a letter from Lockheed officials offering to help India design and build its own light combat jet fighter—a goal defense specialists here have been aiming for with little success.

LE MONDE Interview

PM050915 Paris LE MONDE in French 4 Jun 85 pp 1,4

[Interview with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by Jacques Amalric and Patrice Claude in New Delhi on 30 May]

[Text] Question: You have been India's leader for 7 months. How are you adapting to your job?

Answer: I see no difference between this job and any other. Whatever you do, you should do it with the same conviction. Everything I have done in my life I have done wholeheartedly.

Question: Should any particular significance be attached to the fact that you chose the USSR for your first foreign visit?

Answer: No. I think the Soviets invited me first, that is all.

Question: What are your main domestic problems?

Answer: There are two kinds of problems: The first relates to our development, the second to political life. In a way they are connected, because without political stability there can be no sustained development. On the political level, we have the Sikh problem in Punjab. A few months ago there was reason to wonder whether the country was going to be broken up. We can now see that it has held firm. In a way it has even emerged stronger from the test. I think that we are making progress in Punjab. Things are probably moving slowly, but Akali Dal (the main Sikh party) has broken its silence for the first time, condemned some acts of violence, and has even had the courage to condemn the extremists. This is a positive step. I am optimistic, but it will take time....

Question: To commemorate the army's assault on the Golden Temple last June, the Sikhs have declared a "genocide week" starting this Monday. Do you expect sidespread disturbances?

Answer: Not really; but we are prepared for the worst.

Question: Will the Army remain in Punjab for a long time yet?

Answer: Until the situation returns to normal.... We had to face two problems there: first, that of terrorism, which has to be treated as such; and the second problem, which is political. Before the assault on the Golden Temple, the Sikh extremists were already terrorizing not only the population in general, but also the leaders of the Akali Dal party, who no longer dared lift a finger. That is why it is important that they are now speaking out and are no longer allowing themselves to be intimidated by threats.

The Shortcomings of the Police...[subhead]

Question: Are you not worried that you have to use the Army increasingly to restore order, and not only in Punjab?

Answer: Yes, we are using the Army much too often. This must stop. I am fundamentally opposed to it, and, moreover, so is the Army. It does not like it.

Question: Does this mean a full review of the way in which the police are run?

Answer: This poses a problem, because the police depend not on central government but on the state governments. We can only intervene indirectly, by trying to win over the competent authorities. Until recently we have never had such a law and order problem. We are suddenly having to face it, and we can see that our police are inadequate. We are considering the problem seriously.

Congress Party's Shortcomings [subhead]

Question: Why did you keep your post as leader of the Congress Party when you were elected prime minister?

Answer: You know, the party made me chairman and prime minister almost simultaneously: I had not asked for anything.

Question: But could you now give up the party chairmanship?

Answer: Yes. The first thing we are going to hold are elections within the party (Footnote 1) (There have been no elections in the Congress Party for 15 years. Indira Gandhi was in the habit of appointing the party's six general secretaries herself). I will continue to be chairman until then. After that the man chosen by the party will be chairman. Of course we must first restore order and revise our membership list. All the party structures have virtually collapsed. I hope that the reorganization will be completed before 31 December. We will start the election process 3 months later.

Question: The party really needs radical reform....

Answer: Definitely. People have rested on their laurels since the 1980 parliamentary elections. Many cadres have entered government, and there is no longer anybody to provide an impetus.

Question: What are your economic priorities?

Answer: Without going into detail, let us say that we started by establishing the foundations of a modern nation over the past 35 years. That was the first phase. It is over. We began to industrialize the country in the early fifties. We were strongly criticized for that, on the pretext that ours was primarily an agricultural country. Of course our critics were wrong. It was necessary to modernize, train managers, technicians, engineers, and a whole network of diversified industries.

Question: At the cost of abandoning socialism, as even some members of your party accuse you of doing?

Answer: Oh, you know, my grandfather (Nehru) was criticized in his day for moving away from Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine! What do people want? Do they want India to return to Gandhi's day in the sphere of industrialization? Of course it is not a

question of deviating from his philosophical teachings. But, if we had followed our critics' advice in the agricultural sphere, we would not now be self-sufficient. We would be at Africa's level, with millions of people dying of starvation. Here we have suffered two or three major droughts over the past 5 or 6 years, and nobody suffered as a result. This was achieved by the mechanization of agriculture, the use of fertilizer, electrification, in short, by industrialization.

Opening the Nationalized Sector to Competition [subhead]

Question: So you are going to open up your economy to foreign countries?

Answer: That is a different matter. We want to achieve as much as we can ourselves. We have so far financed virtually all our development with our own resources. We do not want to upset our strategy.

Question: And yet you could borrow a great deal more?

Answer: Yes, but we do not want to face the repayment problems which some countries have. It is too dangerous. This does not mean that we do not need some foreign technologies. We are simply going to concentrate our requests in five or six particular areas which we want to develop more quickly. And we will turn to Eastern-bloc countries and to the West.

Question: People say that ideological concepts — the notions of right and left — are foreign to you.

Answer: These concepts now no longer have the same meaning. Your country, for instance, is right-wing....

Question: Mr Mitterrand is a socialist!

Answer: No, I mean your country is in the West. And yet you have a large nationalized sector. China, to take another example, claims to follow pure Marxism but is nonetheless introducing economic reforms considered somewhat incompatible with Marxism. Even the Soviet Union is thinking about ways of modernizing its industry. No, from the economic viewpoint the notions of the fifties and sixties are no longer valid. Even from the political viewpoint the West, which claims to be democratic, supports some of the worst dictatorships. But what matters to us is to know what is good for India. There is no question of prostituting ourselves, of borrowing here and there. Indeed, we have a very strong ideology.

Question: Is it socialist?

Answer: Yes, it is a socialism suited to India, to our national and individual character. Indians are very individualistic. They cannot be herded together, as is done in some Eastern and Asian countries. Hinduism is our dominant religion, but, as you know, we do not even pray together.

Question: Do you pray?

Answer: No, I do not pray.... All this shows you that we are not in the habit of adopting very clearcut viewpoints; we adapt. It is

both good and bad. But we must take account of it in everything we do. Essentially we Indians only work to obtain what is strictly necessary. We do not have the appetite for accumulation which is found in Western or Eastern Europe.

This is one of our major development problems. How can we get people moving and encourage them to take initiatives...?

The Population of Australia Every Year [subhead]

Question: Are you going to continue the policy started by your mother in the demographic sphere?

Answer: No, I think we must do much more than has been done hitherto. We have reduced the growth rate, but it is still much too high. Do you realize that we produce the equivalent of the population of Australia every year!

Question: What is your view of the Soviet Union? Do you regard it as a model, or as the enemy of your enemy, namely China?

Answer: No, not at all. Moreover, I do not regard any country as an enemy. Not even Pakistan. I think we can have good relations with that country. Our two nations would greatly benefit if we could end our frictions. Not only would we be able to save on arms purchases, but we could do so many things together....That is why we are now focusing our diplomacy on South Asia.

To return to the USSR, we have two approaches: One is geopolitical, the other economic. What can we learn about their economic system? It undoubtedly has some very good aspects. But it is impossible to govern India other than by democracy. The country would break up. We can learn from them, but we cannot copy their system.

What Is Southwest Asia? [subhead]

Question: Why do you think the Soviets intervened in Afghanistan?

Answer: I think they thought the Americans were going to take advantage of the situation, and they could not accept that kind of risk.

Question: How can you condemn the U.S. policy in Central America so strongly and take such an understanding attitude to the Soviet Union in Afghanistan?

Answer: We were as firm on Nicaragua as on Afghanistan. We have condemned all foreign interference wherever it took place. We are not understanding about Afghanistan. If you read the joint communique issued at the end of my visit to Moscow, you will see that we were very firm on Southwest Asia.

Question: But the communique does not even mention Afghanistan.

Answer: Yes, it does mention it. Southwest Asia is Afghanistan. (laughter)

Question: However, do you not think that your diplomacy could be more active on this question?

Answer: We took an initiative in the early eighties, but Pakistan rejected our offer and told us not to interfere in this affair. In our view, however, the problem cannot be solved between the superpowers. It must be solved between Afghanistan and Pakistan. If necessary we are willing to become more involved.

Question: Are you afraid of Pakistan's being destabilized by the USSR?

Answer: The Soviets do not like what is now happening in Pakistan in the least. They have made this very clear on numerous occasions. Moreover, we would not like to see the start of a conflict which would probably bring in the United States. That would be very dangerous.

Question: Are you worried by the possible improvement in relations between Moscow and Beijing?

Answer: No. We want them to improve. We would also like our relations with China to improve. But, in both cases, obstacles remain. In our case, at least, it will be a long process. Our border problems with China go back to 1962.

Question: When you were elected, did the West hope to see you bring your country closer to it, because you studied in the West and married a Westerner...?

Answer: I think that we have always had a balanced position between East and West and that we will maintain it.

Pakistan and the Bomb [subhead]

Question: Do you think Pakistan already has nuclear weapons? If so, what will be your response?

Answer: Yes, we think that they are very close to having one, or that they already have one. In fact, more than one.... We for our part have not yet taken any decision. But we are thinking about it. You must understand that for India it is very worrying that Pakistan should have a nuclear weapon. Islamabad has already attacked us three times. The fact that they had the bomb would therefore change all the rules of the game. We must think about this seriously. In principle we are opposed to the idea of becoming a nuclear power. We could have done so for the past 10 or 11 years, but we have not. If we decided to become a nuclear power, it would only take a few weeks or a few months.

Question: Are you contemplating this?

Answer: Not yet.

Question: Are you then envisaging a preemptive attack on the Pakistani nuclear installations?

Answer: We are trying not to behave like some other countries....

Question: Are you thinking of Israel?

Answer: I am not mentioning any names.

Question: Will you one day establish diplomatic relations with Jerusalem?

Answer: Yes, if Israel changes its attitude on a number of subjects. For the time being we think that they are very belligerent and do not take account of the problems posed. We understand their problems, but until they change their attitude I cannot see peace being established in that region.

Question: Let us return to your defense policy: Will you or will you not take the decision to produce nuclear weapons?

Answer: We have not yet reached a decision, but we have already worked on it.

Question: Will it be a personal or a government decision?

Answer: The decision will be taken by the cabinet.

Question: Will it be published?

Answer: It will be a secret decision. ✓

Question: To return to Pakistan, your mother was in the habit of blaming foreign countries for a number of Indian problems. You do not do so.

Answer: Yes I do; I condemn this interference, but I think it is up to me to control it. It is up to us to prevent these foreign hands from stirring up trouble in the country, and we will do so.

Question: Is Pakistan helping the separatist Sikhs in Punjab?

Answer: We know that it is doing so. The action taken by these foreign forces varies: It ranges from aid to a particular candidate on behalf of a particularly ideology to much more subversive acts.

Question: Are these supported at government level?

Answer: Well, we know where the people are trained, how they are trained, who trains them, and from what units the advisers come.

Question: Why not make this information public?

Answer: We do not want to compromise our sources.

Toward a United Sri Lanka [subhead]

Question: You are due to meet the Sri Lankan president on Sunday (Footnote 2) (It should be remembered that this interview was granted before the meeting with President Jayewardene) to try to reach agreement on the Tamil question. What will you say to him, particularly with regard to the separatists based in Madras, who expect India to recognize the validity of their separatist demands?

Answer: We have already categorically stated that we would never support the creation of an independent Tamil state in Sri Lanka. I say this publicly and very clearly, and I have already made this known to the Colombo government. Ultimately the Sri Lankan Tamils will have to live in Sri Lanka.

Question: In a united state?

Answer: Yes, in a united Sri Lanka. We advise against any autonomy which goes beyond what we recognize for the different states in India.

Do you know how big Sri Lanka is? It is tiny. Into how many pieces can it be cut? We have often drawn the Sri Lanka authorities' attention to the situation of their Tamils in the past. If they could offer them a series of measures based on our solutions for the minorities, I am sure they would accept.

Question: One thing the Sri Lankans do not understand is why you do not control the "boys" who are responsible for the fighting there, using India as a base....

Answer: We are doing so, but it is impossible to control them 100 percent. We are not succeeding in doing that with Pakistan either. There are limits to what we can do. We recently confiscated \$4 million worth of arms.

Question: Was that the first time?

Answer: No, it was not the first time, but there are some things which we do not shout from the rooftops. We do not want to have political problems in Tamil Nadu (a state in southern India where 40 million Tamils live) either. We are walking a tightrope, but we must do so. However, every time the Sri Lankan security forces attack Tamil civilians, they make our task even more difficult. All the information we have shows that the Sri Lankan forces are attacking not terrorists but civilians. Indeed, there are two kinds of terrorism in action in that country: that of the Sri Lankan forces losing their cool, and the other kind.

Spies 95-Percent Pardoned [subhead]

Question: It is time to turn to the case of the French "spies" expelled from India last January....

Answer: We consider that case closed.

Question: Is it true to say that your reaction — the request for the French ambassador to be recalled — was exaggerated?

Answer: No, I do not think so. The decision we took was not only based on the spy affair. There were other incidents before that.

Question: What kind of incident?

Answer: I do not think it would be useful to go back over this affair.

Question: Have you forgiven and forgotten?

Answer: It is difficult to forgive and forget completely. Let us say that it has been 95-percent forgotten....

Question: But why did you not take similar measures with regard to the Eastern-bloc diplomats implicated in the same affair?

Answer: As I told you, there had previously been other incidents in which the French were involved.

Question: But to what incidents are you referring?

Answer: I think this should remain a matter between the French Government and us.

Question: Does this mean that economic relations between the two countries have returned to what they were before this whole affair?

Answer: Yes.

Question: So will there be contracts signed with the French enterprises before your departure for Paris?

Answer: I do not know yet. A considerable number of things still have to be decided. We will probably take a final decision before our departure.

Question: Will you take a decision on the 27 helicopters?

Answer: Yes, definitely.

Question: Is France in a good position to win this contract?

Answer: You will have to wait and see.

Against 'Star Wars' [subhead]

Question: Have you met Mr Mitterrand before, and what political subjects do you plan to discuss with him?

Answer: Yes, I have met him, but I have never had detailed discussions with him. With regard to political problems, we have a considerable number of bilateral questions to discuss. In particular, we think that we buy a large number of French products but that you do not buy enough from us. In some cases we are encountering protectionist attitudes. As I have said, we have a great deal in common with France. I think there was also always a long-standing friendship between the French people and my mother. I think, therefore, that we can do a great deal together in the economic sphere. We have been buying arms from you for a long time. I even think that the first foreign plane we bought was French. I think it was the Mystere, and today we have the Mirage-2000 planes. We would like to discuss some major international problems like disarmament and "star wars." We think that this military program is likely to add a new dimension to nuclear war and further complicate the disarmament question. People are now saying that it is a defensive program, but it could become offensive in the future.

LE FIGARO Interview on Nuclear Issue
PM051139 Paris LE FIGARO in French 4 Jun 85 p 3

[Interview with Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi by Nathalie Blime in New Delhi — date not given]

[Excerpts] Question: The special relations which exist between India and France are recent. What were the factors which determined the establishment of these relations?

Answer: I think that the main reason stems from our history, the way in which we won our independence and developed the concepts which form the basis of our policy. India is fundamentally opposed to all military pacts; we think that every country ought to be able to define its policy in complete independence. Although France is a NATO member, it shows its individuality within that alliance. It dissociates itself from the alliance when it deems that necessary and does not bow to other people's decisions. That is why India and France have independent and similar positions on many questions.

Question: Which questions?

Answer: On many international problems. To take just one example: Nicaragua. India and France think that the United States should lift the trade embargo on Nicaragua.

Question: What do you think of France's position at the Bonn summit?

Answer: In a way the French supported the position we adopted in the United Nations some time ago, and we are pleased because we advocate a reform of the international economic situation and a restructuring of world trade.

Question: Are you satisfied with relations between India and the EC?

Answer: Relations between India and the EEC are not close enough. We ought to strengthen them. We must examine ways of achieving this, because there are major opportunities for cooperation between India and the EEC, particularly in the sphere of advanced technology, which Europe is capable of procuring for us.

Question: The U.S. withdrawal from UNESCO is a challenge to the organization's universal character and to the whole UN system. India has always been a fervent supporter of UNESCO; Why? What can India and France do together to take up this challenge?

Answer: We think that all international organizations have a major role. UNESCO has done very good work and, for that reason, needs to be supported. It would be a good thing for the French to succeed in persuading the Americans to remain in the organization. I will discuss this with Mr Mitterrand when I am in France.

Question: India has difficult relations with all its neighbors. However, your election aroused great hopes on the Subcontinent.

Do you think that a breakthrough is possible? Is South Asian Regional Cooperation [SARC] the answer?

Answer: A breakthrough is undoubtedly possible, and I am optimistic about all the countries around us. I do not know whether the SARC is the answer because the SARC is still too young, and we do not know how it is going to develop. We want it to be strengthened and become more active.

Question: Do you think the SARC can become an independent economic entity like the EEC?

Answer: No. We cannot consider that at present. The EEC has its own parliament, and I do not think that is possible for the SARC, because the countries have very different political structures: dictatorship, monarchy, democracies.

Question: What is the state of relations between India and Pakistan?

Answer: There are some positive points. I have met with President Zia twice, and we had detailed and friendly talks. I also had a good discussion with the Pakistani foreign minister, and I think we can do a great deal to improve our relations. There are two major problems: the Pakistani nuclear program and the acquisition by Islamabad of highly sophisticated weapons. But the two problems are not on the same level, because we can also acquire military equipment, but we would not like to become a nuclear power.

Question: Not even if Pakistan does?

Answer: Even if Pakistan does, I do not think we should [deviations] do likewise. It is a question which will be discussed in the country so that a decision can be made.

Espionage? It Is Behind Us [subhead]

Question: You told parliament that Pakistan was near to having the bomb and could already have one. Will this not force India to review its nuclear policy, willingly or unwillingly?

Answer: Not necessarily. I am not saying no categorically, but let us say we would prefer not to have to change our policy.

Question: Islamabad recently proposed a mutual inspection program. What is your position?

Answer: You have seen the mutual inspection program between the USSR and the United States. Despite inspection, they do not trust each other. There are too many gaps in the inspection programs, and it is very difficult to know what is really happening. A mutual inspection program can be a partial solution, no more than that. A change of atmosphere and more understanding and confidence are needed.

Question: Finally, prime minister, is the espionage affair behind us, or does its shadow still hang over relations between France and India?

Answer: Let us hope it is behind us.

Bhandari off to Moscow to brief Soviet officials

From G. K. Reddy

NEW DELHI, June 18.

The Foreign Secretary, Mr. Romesh Bhandari, has been sent to Moscow to keep the Soviet Government informed of the general outcome of the talks that the Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, has had in Washington on various issues.

The two issues on which the Soviet Union would like to be briefed are the U.S. offer of arms sale to India and the talks the Prime Minister had on Afghanistan.

The Foreign Secretary, who accompanied the Prime Minister throughout his 14-day tour, branched off in Geneva and left for Moscow today on this delicate mission. He is due to get back to Delhi on Thursday after two rounds of talks with senior Soviet officials.

No message from U.S. Govt.: But Mr. Bhandari has not gone to Moscow with any message from the U.S. Government on the eve of the indirect talks in Geneva between Pakistan and Afghanistan under U.N. auspices. The U.S. and Soviet officials were due to meet today for talks on Afghanistan and, if Washington had anything new to convey to Moscow, it would be done during these exchanges rather than through India which is not directly involved in these negotiations.

Policy on Afghanistan: The Soviet Government would, however, like to be assured that there has been no change in India's policy on Afghanistan in the wake of Mr. Rajiv Gandhi's visit to Washington. Though what he had said on Afghanistan, in his address to the U.S. Congress and at his press conference was, in effect, a restatement of the Indian position, he had certainly phrased it somewhat differently to make his homily a little more palatable to American opinion.

Decision taken by P.M.: The decision to send Mr. Bhandari to Moscow was taken by the Prime Minister himself, who felt that it would be a good thing to keep the Soviet leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, informed of his discussions in Washington.

A significant feature of the U.S. policy towards India is that, much as it would like to see India move away from its close relationship with Moscow to something analogous to a middle position, the Reagan administration is not doing anything to drive a wedge between India and the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the current U.S. attempts to establish closer links with India are being made in full awareness of the reality that Mr. Rajiv Gandhi is not going to turn his back on the Soviet Union.

So it would not be too difficult a task for Mr. Bhandari to assure the Soviet leadership that India was not trying to improve its relations with the U.S. at the expense of its well established friendship with the Soviet Union.

CARTOONS/PHOTOS



Times of India (Bombay) 2 Jun 85



Patriot (New Delhi) 9 Jun 85



Blitz (Bombay) 25 May 85



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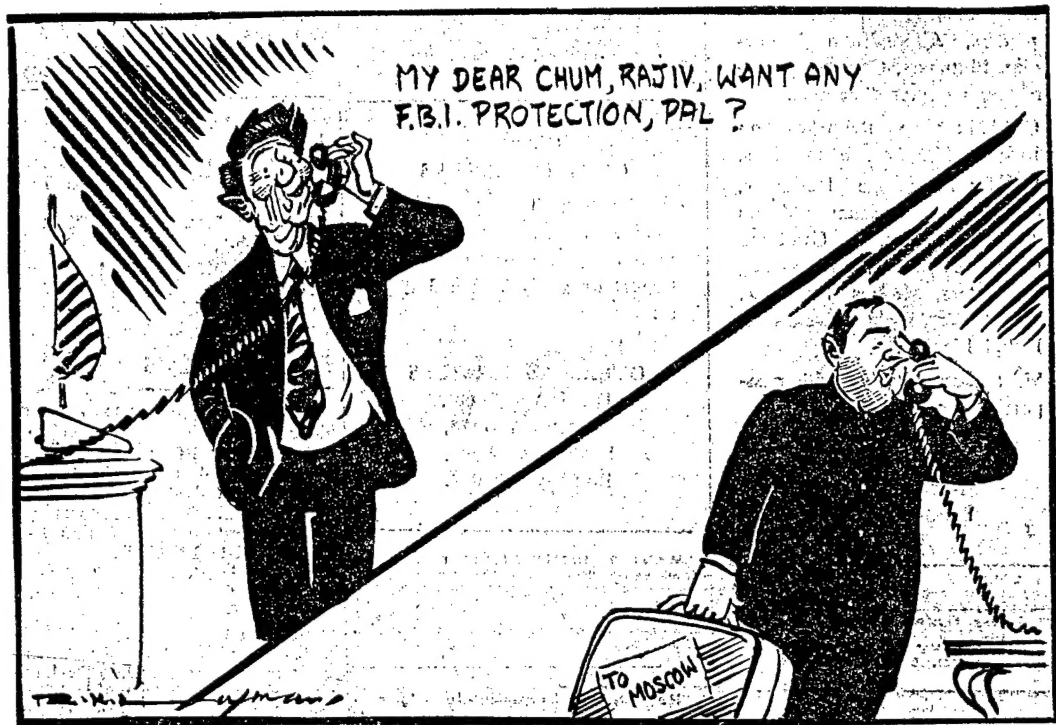
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